

ON SOCIAL REFORMS

NEEDED IN

SCOTLAND

BY

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WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS  
EDINBURGH AND LONDON  
MDCCCLXVII

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## P R E F A C E .

THE following Inaugural Address was delivered on the occasion of the commencement of last winter's course of Popular Lectures in the Mechanics' Institute, Coldstream.


Though the meeting paid me the compliment of requesting me to print and publish the Address, I felt some scruple in complying, on account of the presumption which might be imputed to me, of my discussing questions, many of which are attended with much difficulty.

My views on these questions may be of little value. But the questions themselves seem to me vitally important, as regards the wellbeing of the community and the credit of the country. I feel, therefore, that it does good to bring these questions as often as possible before the public, in the hope that wiser persons may be able to discover some solution of the problems involved.

There is, perhaps, the greater need at this moment of endeavouring to draw attention to these questions, lest *political* reforms, which are now so engrossing, should cause us to lose sight of other reforms certainly not less important.

In revising the Address for publication, I have offered a more extended exposition of my views on the subject of Pauperism than could be given in the Address; and I have also, in reference to some other topics, availed myself of statistical returns not published when the Address was delivered.

PAXTON HOUSE, 1st *May* 1867.



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## ADDRESS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Having had the honour of being invited to commence the course of lectures here this winter, and to do so by delivering an Inaugural Address, it afforded me much satisfaction to comply, as the committee were pleased very kindly to say, that the objects of the Coldstream Mechanics' Institute would be promoted by my assistance on this occasion.

In considering what should be the subject of my address, it occurred to me that it would not be unsuitable to attempt to bring before you this evening some of the social questions which affect the wellbeing of the working classes of the country; those classes for whom popular lectures are generally asked, and for whom this Institute was established.

I need hardly say, however, that, in discussing these questions, I will not confine myself to the condition of things in the parish of Coldstream or in the county of Berwick. A far wider survey will be necessary, to elicit facts and principles bearing on these important questions.

Under the title of working classes, I of course mean those who earn wages in return for industrial labour. The importance of these classes in our community may be judged of from the following considerations:—

They form in Scotland, as well as in England, more than one-third of the whole population.

Their earnings far exceed, in aggregate amount, the incomes of all other classes together.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Professor Leone Levi, of London, a prominent member of the Council of the Statistical Society, in a letter published in the *Times* in October last, gives the following figures:—

	England.	Scotland.
Number of working classes, . . .	7,466,000	1,104,000
Total population, . . . . .	20,066,224	3,062,294
Earnings of working classes, . . .	£311,500,000	£42,700,000
Yearly incomes of all classes (above £100, assessed to income tax), . . .	£276,500,000	£27,100,000

They supply the hands, muscle, and nerves necessary for our manufactures, our agriculture, our navy, our mercantile marine, and our army. These great sources of national power and wealth would, without them, be dried up.

From their ranks chiefly, those men of instinctive genius spring, who, rising above their native level and obscurity, become distinguished as engineers, lawyers, philosophers, painters, theologians, poets, botanists, and geologists,—adding to the reputation of their fatherland, and advancing the civilisation of the world.

These are views on the pleasant side of the picture. But there is another aspect, which presents views of a less agreeable character.

Who supply the largest proportion of offenders against law, and thus occasion expense to the country for the maintenance of police, prisons, and criminal courts? I fear it is the working classes.

Who swell the ranks of pauperism, and occasion the heavy and increasing burdens of poor-rates? The working classes.

They also supply the victims, in greatest numbers, of drunkenness and other vices, so hurtful to themselves and offensive to general morality.

Now, whether we look on one side of the picture or the other, we are taught the same lesson. We see the enormous influence, for weal and for woe, which the working classes exercise on the commonwealth. It therefore concerns all who have the good of the country at heart, to probe from time to time, to the best of their ability, the condition of these classes, and suggest methods of ameliorating it. Though these classes are not the mainspring of the national machine, they form its wheels and pinions, its cranks and axles, which, to ensure regular and steady action, require to be of sound material, and ought also to work smoothly. In other words, if Great Britain is to be blessed with prosperity and happiness, there must be in all classes, and especially in her numerous working population, virtue, intelligence, and a faithful performance of social duties.

In adverting to the present condition of the working classes, I shall notice, first, their physical condition; it being the least



difficult to ascertain, and about which there can be the least difference of opinion.

How great for them has been the improvement during the last century, in all that ensures comfort and enjoyment !

1. First, look at the *wretched dwellings* of the industrial classes in our own district, in former days. In an article on Scottish Farming as it was a century ago (published in the *Journal of Agriculture*), it is shown how, in Roxburghshire, the farm-servants and labourers had often to live in cottages erected, not by skilled masons and carpenters, but by themselves, and formed of the rudest materials gathered on the spot. One of the entries in the diary of Mr. Elliot of Broadlees, an extensive farmer in that county in the year 1753, is as follows: "Anne Heaslop gets her house free this year, because she biggit it last year." Even at the commencement of the present century, the farm cottages in all the border counties were unprovided with glass windows. Somerville, a native of Berwickshire, and author of an interesting book called the *Autobiography of a Working Man*, mentions that when his parents, who were farm-servants, removed from one place to another, they always carried with them a window frame with glass in it, to be put into the wall of the cottage they were removing to; the one window also indicating that but one apartment was the usual rule.

I remember about forty years ago having, in Northumberland, met upon the public highway not far from Norham, a family of farm-servants flitting, the cart containing, as part of their furniture, not only a window frame, but a door; and I learnt that very often nothing beyond the bare walls was at that time provided for farm-servants, so that it was the general practice for them to carry with them a door and a window.

How great has been the improvement since these times, in the style and comforts of labourers' cottages! Occasionally one still sees in a remote district, the ruins of the miserable hovels which were then so common, formed of boulders, and peats, and stems of trees cut from an adjoining plantation. When one looks now on the substantial houses, whether in our villages or

on farms, the wonder is that the inmates should belong to the same class of persons who formerly were contented with the hovels I have been describing.

But whilst so much has been done for the improvement of labourers' dwellings, do not let it be supposed that all has been done which in this respect is necessary. A very interesting return appears in the Scotch census for 1861, specifying for each county and town in Scotland, the number of dwellings, with the number of apartments in each, and also specifying those dwellings which have no window in them. I confess that I was surprised and shocked to find that, in our own county of Berwick, our cottage accommodation, notwithstanding all that had been done to improve it, was still so exceedingly defective. Believing that few persons in the county are aware of the census returns to which I have been adverting, I give the following table, which shows the number of families (excluding vagrants) occupying dwellings containing the number of apartments specified :—

	Number of Families.	DWELLING-HOUSES WITH			
		No Window.	One Room.	Two Rooms.	Three Rooms.
In all Scotland, . . .	666,786	7964	226,723	246,601	75,983
„ Haddingtonshire, . . .	8538	56	3190	2768	852
„ Berwickshire, . . .	7765	52	3118	2312	691
„ Ayton Parish, . . .	426	3	172	135	27
„ Coldingham, . . .	675	2	292	218	44
„ Coldstream, . . .	670	4	289	205	50
„ Dunse, . . .	857	3	315	225	82
„ Fogo, . . .	100	2	16	30	18
„ Ladykirk, . . .	121	2	57	28	6
„ Lauder, . . .	470	3	184	140	45
„ Legerwood, . . .	97	1	57	25	3
„ Longformacus, . . .	86	3	26	33	5
„ Mertoun, . . .	136	28	61	13	9
„ Whitsome, . . .	129	1	38	44	27

In explanation of these figures, it is mentioned by the reporters on the census, that the dwellings without windows are houses occupied by families, to which the light was admitted only by the door when open, or by the chimney, or a hole in the wall for the outlet of smoke.

This table—assuming it to be correct—reveals several very

startling facts, which cannot be made too generally known. It bears, that the numbers of families in Scotland who live in houses having no windows, having only one room, having two rooms, and three rooms, are respectively 1 per cent., 34 per cent., 37 per cent., and 11 per cent. In Berwickshire these numbers are 0·6 per cent., 39 per cent., 29 per cent., and 18 per cent. Now, if a dwelling-house, with a due regard to decency, cannot afford proper accommodation to a family unless it has three rooms,<sup>1</sup> what do we find to be the case? In Scotland generally, 72 per cent. of the population, or nearly three-fourths, live in houses of this objectionable character; in Berwickshire, 68·6 per cent., or more than two-thirds of our population, are in that predicament.

Some parts of our county are in this respect much worse than others, and particularly as regards hovels having no window. In one parish, these wretched dwellings are the abode of no less than 18 per cent. of its population. I have therefore thought it right to give the names of all the parishes in our county which contain these objectionable dwellings, in the hope that, attention being called to their existence, steps may be immediately taken to remove the stain which rests on those who are responsible for possessing or allowing them.

2. The next subject to which I advert, affecting the condition of the working classes, which indicates a great amelioration, is *health*. In former days, ague afflicted young and old indiscriminately, being a universal epidemic. Your townsman, Dr. Turnbull, has often told me, that when his father was in practice, fifty years ago, four-fifths of his patients were attended by him for ague. His son, notwithstanding the great extent of his practice in Berwickshire, Northumberland, and Roxburghshire, has never seen more than two or three cases. Professor Christison, of Edinburgh, in a recent address, says: "My father, a Berwickshire man, often told me that, in his young days,

<sup>1</sup> The Enclosure Commissioners for Great Britain oblige Lands Improvement Companies to comply with the following rule, in advancing money to landed proprietors: "To admit of a proper separation of the sexes, three bedrooms are to be provided in each labourer's cottage. Where, however, many are to be built, a proportion with two bedrooms for labourers without families will not be objected to."

probably about 1775, ague was so common among the farm-labourers of that famous agricultural county, that a prudent farmer always set off, on account of it, a certain proportion of no-work days for his men in spring and autumn.”<sup>1</sup>

Professor Christison will not allow that the ague disappeared from Roxburghshire and Berwickshire because of the drainage of the lands, which has been the common belief. In this remark I agree with him; and I find that one of my predecessors who lived here fifty years ago, and who was intimately acquainted with Berwickshire, was of the same opinion.<sup>2</sup> Whether Professor Christison is right in ascribing the disappearance of ague to the same causes which apply to ordinary epidemics, may be more doubtful. It seems to me not improbable, that the greater comfort of the dwellings, the warmer raiment, and the more nutritious food of the people, must have had no small effect.

The state of the farm-servants' apparel, and their paltry wages, may be judged of from the following entries in the diary of Mr. Elliot, the Roxburghshire farmer. Under date May 1748, he notes having “hyred Adam Scott till Martinmas for a pair of shoes and £1;” James Anderson, “for a pair of shoes, an ell of linsey, and £1, 3s.” In April 1751, “Hyred Hendry Glendinning to thresh the corne. He is to have 20 sheep's grass, two lams, ould clothes, shoes two pair, a pair of stockens, and 5s.”<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Somerville, of Jedburgh, in his *Autobiography*, gives the following statement (page 340):—

“The wages of servants since the period of my becoming a householder in 1770 have advanced at least fourfold. I then paid one of my maid-servants £1, 5s., another £1, 10s., for the half-year; and my man-servant £4 yearly. The annual wages of a man-servant of the same kind now (1814) may be stated at £16 to £18, besides board; and the wages of a maid-servant at £7 or £8 per annum. Mr. Scott, who resides at Monklaw in my parish, at an advanced age, has informed me that his father, 50 years ago, hired his female servants for 10s., with a pair of shoes, for the half-year; and his ploughman for £1, 5s., with the like gift, or *bountith*, as it was then called.

<sup>1</sup> *Social Science Association Reports for 1863*, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix A, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of Agriculture*, No. VII., p. 8.

“Whether, owing to their having less hard work during the day, or from habits of industry and frugality, servants were accustomed to dedicate the winter evenings at the kitchen fire to some home manufactures now unknown; for instance, to giving the finishing work to their shoes. At that time none of the ploughmen, and few of the women-servants, purchased their shoes in a complete state. The shoes of the men, called *brogues*, had only a single sole. It was the custom of the purchasers to double, sometimes treble, the soles with their own hands. Servants and labourers were always provided with the necessary tools for this work.”

I find, with regard to the wages in Berwickshire, that so late as the year 1791, able-bodied men received for working in the fields only from 9d. to 1s. per day, and house-servants from £6 to £7 yearly (MSS. of George Home of Paxton).

These facts show how scanty in former days were the means of personal comfort, compared with what are now possessed by the same classes of persons.

I might refer to many other points bearing on the material or physical condition of our population in former days; such as the scarcity of fuel (consisting of peats and fallen timber); the difficulty of moving from one part of the country to another; the severe distress which arose, not unfrequently from want of food, when harvests were deficient. But it is superfluous to enlarge further on these heads. Every one knows that, in respect of physical comforts and material advantages, the improvements have been striking and extensive.

3. I come now to remark on the *moral condition* of the working classes. Is it better than it was, and is it now improving?

I am afraid that is a question which cannot be answered easily or satisfactorily.

The evidence bearing on the moral condition of any class is necessarily less distinct than that bearing on its physical condition; and the evidence, such as it is, does not go back to a very remote period. But evidence there undoubtedly is to indicate, during the last thirty years, what has been the moral character of our population, and to show the changes which have taken place during that time. The evidence I allude to

is afforded by the returns prepared in the Lord Advocate's and the Registrar-General's departments.

(1.) I extract from the *Edinburgh Almanac* the following table of the number of convictions for *crimes* in the counties situated in the south-east of Scotland, for six quinquennial terms, and also for the year 1865 :—

	Average of 1836-40.	Average of 1841-45.	Average of 1846-50.	Average of 1851-55.	Average of 1856-60.	Average of 1861-65.	Average of year 1865.
Berwick, . . . . .	19	38	88	50	67	48	52
Haddington, . . . . .	32	46	63	52	49	27	21
Linlithgow, . . . . .	37	83	82	69	78	99	135
Roxburgh, . . . . .	99	114	124	130	113	143	106
Selkirk, . . . . .	8	11	12	7	4	15	16
Average, . . . . .	39	58	45	61	62	66	66

From this table it would appear that, in the counties named, the number of convictions for crime has been, during the last thirty years, steadily increasing.

In our own county, during the six years that Mr. List has been chief constable, the following are the numbers of persons convicted :—

Nature of Offence.	1860.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.
Against persons, . . . . .	97	82	75	80	83	94
Against property, . . . . .	91	69	85	80	87	107
Other offences, . . . . .	205	241	401	462	498	503
Total apprehended, . . . . .	393	391	561	622	668	704

The increase which these returns indicate during recent years, may no doubt be partly due to increased vigilance of the police, and greater skill in conducting prosecutions. I hope this is the case; but even were the increase due entirely to that circumstance, it would only show that in the previous years the offences and the offenders were undiscovered or winked at, not that they did not exist.

More painful is the information afforded by the following

table, which represents the sexes of criminal offenders committed to prison in Scotland after conviction :—

Averages of Five Years, ending	Males.	Females.	TOTAL.
1844, . . . . .	1408	767	2175
1849, . . . . .	1648	939	2587
1854, . . . . .	1857	982	2839
1859, . . . . .	1221	986	2207
1864, . . . . .	1204	1049	2253
Year 1865, . . . . .	1294	1122	2416

This return shows that, during the last twenty years, whilst the number of male prisoners in all Scotland has slightly diminished, the number of female prisoners has largely increased, and increased so uniformly, as to suggest the existence of some causes for it, deeply seated, and therefore the more difficult to remove or discover.

I will not dwell on the disastrous effects arising from deterioration of the female character. If “it is women (as Sheridan says) to whom God has confided the task of writing in the heart of man his destiny in this world and in the next;” if it is from a mother’s teaching and example that the first and deepest impressions are received; if the influence of a wife will often prevail over all other counsellors,—of what vital importance it is, that women should be as free as possible from vicious habits and vicious principles! If they sink in morality, virtue, and intelligence, the other sex must be drawn down also.

I have not had access to any English returns, showing whether the proportion of female prisoners is increasing in England as it has been in Scotland. But I fear this must be the case, judging by the recent revelations of the extent to which infanticide prevails. A return was lately made to Parliament of coroners’ inquests, *i.e.* of persons who had died by violence; from which return it appeared that there had been no less than 3644 inquests on children under one year old, of whom nearly 1000 were illegitimate. The subject has been more particularly investigated in London. Dr. Lankester, the coroner of Middlesex, reported that, in the part of London where he officiates, containing a population of about one million, there are 160 cases of child-murder on an average yearly; and he gives strong reasons for believing that in that

district alone there are 6400 mothers, and in the whole of London 20,000 mothers, who have been accessory to child-murder. He adds, "The opportunity of throwing murdered new-born children into ponds, and of burying them before the crime is discovered, are much greater in the country than in London. If the crime is as frequent in other parts of the country as in London, the number of these murders every year is perfectly frightful. We ought to be dumb with regard to the immorality of other nations, till we have purged ourselves of this foul crime. I think we must not excuse these women. If the greatest and noblest charge which God commits to women is their children, how can it be right that they should escape punishment for this crime?"<sup>1</sup>

From another district in London—the eastern—there was a return in the year 1861 of 421 inquests, in 17 of which the jury returned a verdict of murder.

In regard to Scotland, no returns or evidence of an official character on this painful subject exists; though, from the notice of cases which I occasionally see in the newspapers, I fear that the crime is not uncommon.

(2.) In the preceding remarks I have referred to statistics of *crime*. But besides these, there are the returns of the Registrar-General bearing on *immorality*; and in any inquiry into the condition and character of the working classes, these cannot be overlooked. It is a true saying of Montesquieu, that "more nations have perished from immorality, than from crime."

It would be unbecoming for me in this meeting to do more than refer to a table hanging on the wall,<sup>2</sup> as it speaks for itself. I would only say, that the statistics of this table ought to make us blush for the low state to which morality has fallen in our agricultural counties, and more especially in our own county, and for the fact that the darkest spot of all is our own parish of Coldstream. For what does the table show? It shows that in Berwickshire, out of every 100 children born, there are above 17 not legitimate. The total number of births annually in the county (on an average of the last three years) is 1186; so that the number of those to whom the letter B

<sup>1</sup> *Social Science Association Reports for 1864*, p. 580. See also App. B, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix C, p. 102.



must be prefixed is 204. In the parish of Coldstream, the average number of births annually is 76, of whom, according to the Registrar-General's table, there are between 19 and 20 objectionable; so that, if this state of things continues, and without getting worse, more than a fourth of the population of this parish will soon be of that character.

Deplorable and alarming as is the picture which these statistics exhibit, alas! they do not disclose the whole truth. The Registrar-General's returns embrace only cases where a child has been born and has been registered. But there are many many cases where no child is born, and perhaps some where a child is born and not registered. In Scotland, the proportion of *married* people who have no children, to those who have children, is 81 to 19;<sup>1</sup> and assuming this to be the rule in the other class of cases, which is for them too favourable a view, then the following estimate may be made:—

In the county of Berwick, the number of illegitimate births being 204, the couples who occasion them are 408, to which an addition must be made for the above reason of 95. So that the total number of couples annually guilty of this offence is 503; and as the number of males and females between the ages of 15 and 45 in the county is 9687, every ninth man and every ninth woman between these ages, on an average, commits this offence annually. If the offence was committed by the same persons every year, the case would be bad enough; but as this cannot be presumed, the inference is, that in our county there are very few who do not commit the offence.

Berwickshire is not the only county to which this stigma is imputable. "After a careful consideration," says Dr. Strachan of Dollar, who has long resided there as a medical practitioner, "of the records of my own practice for many years, and of the registers of this and the neighbouring parishes, I am convinced that, of the first children amongst the working classes, not less than 90 out of every 100 are either illegitimate, or are saved from this reproach only by the marriage of the parents within a short period of the birth of the child; or, to put this in other words, that nine out of every ten young women of this class are —. But as, even amongst married women, one out of every

<sup>1</sup> Report on Census of 1861 for Scotland, p. xxxvi.

ten have no children, we are almost forced to the conclusion that, amongst women of the working classes, few or none preserve — till marriage. This is a dreadful statement; yet I fear it is strictly true.”—*Address to the Working Men of Scotland*, 1859, page 2.

If this picture is not exaggerated,—and I have endeavoured to avoid any mistake,—it gives a most distressing idea of the social principles and habits of our agricultural population. One can now understand the meaning of the urgent and almost despairing language in which every year, in his reports, the Registrar-General calls attention to the subject, and asks if nothing can be done to arrest this frightful and growing evil. The subject has also several times engaged the earnest attention of our church courts. Some years ago, an address was issued by the General Assembly, and read from the pulpit of every parish church, beseeching the clergy, the magistrates, masters, and all right-minded people, to aid in suppressing this social evil. Provincial synods and presbyteries have also recognised the magnitude of it by action in their own districts.

As to the causes of this low state of morality in Scotland,—so much lower than it is in England or Ireland,—and as to the remedies which, I venture to think, might be resorted to, I will reserve my remarks till a later period. Here I am concerned only to ascertain the condition of the population, and to state the facts which bear upon it.

(3.) The next subject to which I advert is drunkenness. Is this vice more or less prevalent than it used to be? On that point I quote the following statistics from the *Edinburgh Almanac*. See p. 17.

This table indicates that the consumption of intoxicating liquors has been steadily increasing during the last four years; and I fear that, at all events so far as Scotland is concerned, the increased consumption has been chiefly in public-houses: for in last year's *Edinburgh Almanac* I find the following statement of the number of gallons of spirits brought into public-houses during each of the three years ending 1863:—

1861.	1862.	1863.
2,633,666 gallons.	2,825,184 gallons.	3,066,939 gallons.

I am sorry that I can find no return coming down to a later date.

CONSUMPTION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, SHOWING THE TOTAL QUANTITY, AND  
ALSO PER HEAD OF POPULATION, OF

	Year.	Quantity.	Per head.
British Spirits, . . . . .	1862	18,836,187 gallons.	·644 gallons.
	1863	19,118,192 „	·650 „
	1864	20,202,492 „	·693 „
	1865	20,711,155 „	·695 „
Foreign Spirits, . . . . .	1862	5,193,642 gallons.	·18 gallons.
	1863	5,574,258 „	·19 „
	1864	6,297,031 „	·21 „
	1865	6,732,217 „	·23 „
Wine, . . . . .	1862	9,764,155 gallons.	·33 gallons.
	1863	10,420,761 „	·35 „
	1864	11,397,764 „	·39 „
	1865	11,993,760 „	·40 „
Malt (British), . . . . .	1862	39,823,172 bushels.	1·363 bush.
	1863	44,638,893 „	1·518 „
	1864	47,179,285 „	1·595 „
	1865	47,249,093 „	1·597 „

So far, therefore, as official returns throw light on it, the Scotch vice of drunkenness has not diminished, notwithstanding all that has been done by legislative restrictions and by temperance societies ; so that, if other auxiliaries in this cause of philanthropy can be found, their help ought to be not unacceptable.<sup>1</sup>

(4.) My remarks have hitherto applied to the habits of our adult population. I have a word also to say about juveniles. I cherish the unfortunate belief, that both boys and girls are more mischievous than they used to be. One proof of the correctness of this opinion is afforded by the numbers of reformatories which have had to be established. Both in England and in Scotland, thousands of children are in these institutions undergoing discipline, and every year they are increasing in number. Notwithstanding, it is on good authority stated, that in the streets of London there are even now 150,000 children who live by begging or stealing ; in Manchester, 60,000 ; in Liverpool, 10,000 ; in Glasgow, 33,000 ; in Edinburgh and Leith, 9000 ; in Arbroath, 1100. Indeed, in almost all great towns, and I fear in many rural districts also, there are numbers of children who attend no school, follow no occupation, but wander about, doing mis-

<sup>1</sup> Appendix D, p. 103.

chief. I am sorry to say, our own county is not free from it. A few weeks ago, Mr. List had a memorial sent to him, signed by a number of the shopkeepers and tradespeople of a certain town in Berwickshire, complaining of the mischievous behaviour of boys belonging to it, and stating that, after dusk, they were in the practice of going about the streets in gangs, to give annoyance to people, particularly females, by behaving rudely to them, and also to mutilate property, by hacking with knives the windows of shops and garden railings. The memorial entreated Mr. List to give directions to the county constables to repress this malicious conduct. The application was promptly attended to. Two boys were apprehended; and on the offence being proved, they were sentenced by the Sheriff of the county to receive ten lashes each. The flagellation was accordingly duly administered by the jailer, and produced a happy effect not merely on the recipients, but on the whole juvenile population of the town, when it became known there.

(5.) In adverting to the condition of the working classes, I cannot shut my eyes to one feature, affecting in no small degree the comfort and wellbeing of the whole community; and that is, the small amount of intercourse now existing between employers and employed, as well as of interest in one another's welfare. We have only to glance at the circumstances of the country in early days, both to see the great change in this respect which has taken place, and the cause of it. When there was much insecurity of life or property, it was natural that all persons residing in the same district, to whatever class they belonged, should cling to one another. The feudal barons, and our own border chieftains, had dependants who looked up to them for protection; and on which dependants, barons and chieftains also relied. After these days had passed, and when agricultural operations took the place of feuds and fightings, the farmer maintained under his own roof, and as part of his household, the servants who helped to reap his corn and tend his flocks. The result was, on the part of master and servant, a kindly personal interest in each other. But as agricultural improvement advanced, and required a greater number of hands, it became impossible for the farmer to accommodate all or most of his servants in the same dwelling with himself; and thus the neces-

sity arose, of obliging the servants to reside in cottages apart. From that time a less cordial feeling began to prevail. There was no longer the same familiar and friendly intercourse between master and servant, there being less opportunity; and perhaps also a fear of being called on to do something for the improvement of the wretched hovels to which the servants were consigned, may have kept the master from visiting them. Henceforward the relations of master and servant came to stand on a different footing altogether. There was no longer an interest in each other, to inspire and soften mutual action. Self-interest came to predominate, and assertions of rights, founded on a strict and strained interpretation of the engagement, became the practice. As, in these days, engagements were not always clearly expressed, it was natural that different views should be entertained; and as encroachments would not be tolerated, strife and contention soon arose, and lawyers soon responded to the call. Half a century ago, the total number of procurators before the Sheriff Court of Berwickshire was 3; now there are 18 or 20.

The want of cordial intercourse between farmers and their servants, to which I have adverted as having accompanied, if it was not caused by, the progress of agricultural improvements, I am sorry to say, still continues. It is unfortunately the general practice in our agricultural districts, for farmers to abstain from visiting their servants in their cottages, or taking any interest in their families. I remember some years ago, when acting on a committee of the Berwickshire Farmers' Club, I had occasion to inspect the cottages, ten in number, on one farm; and was then much surprised to learn that neither the tenant nor his wife had ever been within the doors of these ten cottages since the inmates had come to them. I now know that this practice is general. I am very sure it is a practice which conduces to no friendly feelings on either side; and I regret much that it should prevail.

(6.) In connection with the social wellbeing of the community, there is another matter I must allude to, and that is the observance of the Sabbath. I am afraid that of late years there has been much laxity on this point. Whatever views some persons may entertain as to certain things which should be

allowed on the Lord's day, all right-minded persons agree on this, that ordinary worldly business should be abstained from. Yet how frequently do we see this rule transgressed, and in a way to shock public decency, to put it on no higher ground? Is it not the fact that in Edinburgh, Dundee, Glasgow, and other large towns, hundreds of shops are opened on the Sabbath, to carry on the same trade which prevails in them during the rest of the week? Is it not the case, that several great railway companies pursue their traffic on the Sabbath, and on that day even employ workmen for the construction or repair of their works? <sup>1</sup> I see it stated in a recent Report of the East Coast Mission, that on Sabbath evenings fishermen go out from Berwick, Burnmouth, Eyemouth, and Dunbar, to fish for herrings; and worst of all, when almost all the well-disposed fishermen at one of these places express their strong disapproval of the practice, and memorialize the Commissioners of the Government Fishery Board to put a stop to it, which they have the power to do, the latter decline to interfere, in case, as they said, "of exasperating *discordant feelings*."<sup>2</sup>

If these things are undeniable, Sabbath desecration exists in our land to a discreditable extent; and to this impeachment I fear more than one class of the community is open.

(7.) Before concluding this part of my address indicating some of the chief features of the moral and social condition of

<sup>1</sup> The Scottish Sabbath Alliance Society, in a Report lately issued by them, state that on the North British Railway, workmen were employed on Sunday, 27th February, in laying rails for a new junction between Portobello and Joppa, and in repairing engines and shoeing horses, etc., for a new line from Dalkeith; and that on the Caledonian Railway workmen were employed on Sunday, 9th April, to take down a railway bridge.

<sup>2</sup> The Statute 55 Geo. III. chap. 94, sec. 11, enacts as follows: "If any herring net shall be set or hauled in Scotland, at any place on the coast thereof, or within two leagues of the same, after 12 o'clock at night on Saturday, and before 12 o'clock at night on Sunday, or having been set before 12 o'clock at night on Saturday, shall not be hauled before the same hour, every such net shall be forfeited, and shall and may be seized by any superintendent of the Herring Fishery, or any person employed under him, or by any officer of the fishery." A memorial was sent from Eyemouth to the Scotch Fishery Board, two years ago, requesting that the above statutory provision should be enforced. It was signed by about 200 persons, viz. by the most intelligent and influential of the fishermen, as well as fisheurers and shopkeepers in the town. It is said that a similar memorial was sent to the Fishery Board by the magistrates of Dunbar, which met with as little success.

our working classes, I must advert to their educational knowledge, on which success in life so greatly depends. That they are in this respect superior to their forefathers, may be admitted; that they are as well educated as they ought to be, and might be, I very much doubt.

I find from the Scotch Registrar-General's returns, that in the year 1863, on an average of the whole country, one man out of every nine could not sign the marriage register; in England matters are greatly worse, as it appears that one man out of every four could not sign the register.<sup>1</sup>

A recent parliamentary return, dated 12th February 1867, states, that of seamen in the British navy, 11 per cent. cannot read, and 14 per cent. cannot write; and that of marines, 18 per cent. cannot read, and 22 per cent. cannot write.

I am not aware of there being a similar return of recent date for the British army; but Mr. Trevelyan, M.P., stated lately in the House of Commons, that "in the year 1859 an examination, instituted by the military authorities, showed that, out of 10,000 soldiers taken at random, 2080 (*i.e.* 20 per cent.) were unable to read, and 2675 (or 26 per cent.) were unable to write."

What a contrast is there in this respect between the Prussian army and ours! From returns which I saw lately, it appeared that, out of 250 conscripts, only one was unable to read or write. Even in the Austrian army, there was only one out of every 99 conscripts unable to read or write.

The amount of ignorance and stupidity which prevails in many of the manufacturing, and some of the agricultural, districts in England is so well known, that it requires only to be adverted to.

## II. CAUSES.

In the foregoing remarks I have endeavoured to illustrate the present condition of the working classes, physically, socially, and morally, and to adduce such facts as to indicate whether their condition has become better or worse than it used to be. In some respects, there can be no doubt their condition is im-

<sup>1</sup> In Appendix E, p. 103, a more particular statement on this subject is given.

mensely better. In other respects, I fear a different opinion may be not unreasonably entertained. If this last opinion be correct, there would be the greater call for seeking remedial measures; but even were it otherwise, who can deny that there is, on many points, room for improvement, and a motive for suggesting measures to effect it?

The difficulty of such an inquiry no one can feel more than I do myself. The springs of human conduct are numerous, complex, and hidden, and therefore cannot readily be discovered; and even then, the means of operating on them cannot be easily devised, or always successfully carried out.

Perhaps it may aid us in the inquiry, were we to look back into the doings of our forefathers, when they attempted to check many of the very same evils which distress us now. I do not mean that the same machinery which they adopted for that end will be suited to our age; but the principles on which that machinery was constructed may be sound, and at all events may afford useful hints.

That our forefathers in Scotland exerted themselves to repress not only crimes, but vice and immorality, is well known to every one acquainted with our Scottish history and laws. Our Parliaments passed numerous Acts for these objects, and took care that they remained no dead letter. Hutchinson, in his *Justice of Peace*, refers to the offences which were committed to the cognizance of magistrates. They "are ordained by the general statute passed in 1661, to put in execution all enactments for the punishing of persons found guilty of the *sin of drunkenness*." "They are to put in execution the Acts for the punishing of all persons guilty of the sin of — ; and the penalties (varying in amount according to the rank and condition of the offender) are to be levied not only from the man, but from the woman." "They are to put in execution the Acts made for punishing all persons whatsoever who shall *curse*, or *profanely swear*, or shall be mockers or reproachers of *piety*, these offences being punishable by fines proportioned to the rank and circumstances of the party." "They are to put in execution all Acts made against such persons as *prophane the Lord's day*, and levy the penalties therein contained. These statutes are numerous, our Legislature having been anxious to enforce the due observ-



ance of the Sabbath, without which the principles of religion and morality would soon be obliterated from the minds of the people.”

Not only were justices of the peace, magistrates of burghs, sheriffs, and barons authorized and enjoined to carry out these laws, but the aid of the clergy was sought for. For example, the Act 1693, cap. 40, for the purpose of ratifying the “Acts formerly made against Sabbath-breaking, prophane and idle swearing, drunkenness, or other immoralities whatever,”

“*Ordains every presbytery* within this kingdom to appoint one or more within their respective bounds, whom they shall think fit to choose, to take notice of the foresaid vices and immoralities, and to *dilate* and *prosecute* the persons guilty thereof before the magistrates of the bounds, and allowing to them not only *their whole charges and expenses* of the said prosecutions, but also such further *rewards* as the Lords of their Majesties’ Privie Council shall think fit.” Another Act was passed in 1696, ordaining “that in every parish where” any magistrates “happen to reside, they shall and are hereby required to put the said laws against profanity and immorality to due and full execution at the instance of any person who shall pursue the same;” “and as to such paroches wherein none of the magistrates foresaid do reside, then” “persons having ordinary jurisdiction over the same shall appoint as deputs for the said paroches, with the power and for the ends foresaid, such as shall be named to them by the heretors and kirk-session thereof.” “And the estates of Parliament recommend to the Privie Council to take such farther effectual course as shall be found requisite for restraining and punishing of all sorts of profanity and wickedness, and for encouraging and rewarding of such as shall be employed in the execution of the said laws.”

The Act 1701, cap. 11, after ratifying and renewing former laws “made against drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, swearing, fornication, adultery,” etc., enacts that

“All ministers and kirk-sessions and heretors concerned are hereby required and ordained to do and act their parts faithfully in the premises, as they will be answerable; and in case any person shall be excommunicated for not answering, or for not obeying and satisfying the church when processed before them for prophane-ness and immorality, or in case that any person cited on the account foresaid shall be declared by the church to be contumacious, then, and in either case, his Majesty, with advice and consent foresaid, statutes and ordains, that upon application made by a presbytery, provincial synod, or General Assembly to his Majesty’s Privie Council representing the same, the Lords of Privie Council shall

represent the said matter to his Majesty, that he may be duly informed anent the foresaid person found guilty or contumacious as said is, *as a person not fit to be employed or continued in any place of public trust, civil or military.*"

The forfeiture of royal favour, and exclusion from all public offices, was not the only consequence of excommunication by the church courts. By older statutes, excommunicated persons were not suffered to draw the rents of their lands, these being escheated to the Crown. They were denounced as rebels, and put to the horn. Of course, they were also debarred from church privileges.

The statutes annexing civil penalties and forfeitures of property to sentences of excommunication were abrogated (Act 1690, cap. 28). But there was no repeal, I think, of the Act 1701, or of the older Act passed in 1661, which appoints justices of peace to direct "their constables to apprehend any person who shall be found contemptuously to have disobeyed the censures of the church, they being lawfully required to do the same."

I have said that these laws passed by the old Scottish Parliaments were no dead letter. The men who had the wisdom to frame them took care also to ensure their observance. Accordingly, the records of both our criminal and our church courts, from the year 1600 downwards, are replete with accounts of the prosecutions of persons of all degrees, for the various offences against morality, decency, and religion to which I have been adverting. Extracts from some of the church court registers will be found in the Appendix.<sup>1</sup>

Now, any one who reads the laws to which I have adverted, and looks into the proceedings of the courts, must be satisfied of the immense influence, legal, social, and ecclesiastical, which two centuries ago prevailed in Scotland on the side of public morality. It was not merely that the penalties affixed by law were severe, and that the persons authorized and appointed to carry them into execution were numerous, but that these persons were men of position and influence in the country, and were armed with both temporal and spiritual power.

When we look into the memoirs of the times, to ascertain the social and moral condition of the Scottish people, we see

<sup>1</sup> Appendix F, p. 104.

the good effects of the arrangements I have been describing. Mr. Kirkton, who died in the year 1699, and was a minister of the parish of Merton in Berwickshire,<sup>1</sup> wrote a very interesting account of these times, which has been published. He had ample opportunity of knowing the state of the country, and the habits of all classes. He says (referring to a period about the year 1650):—

“ Godly men were employed in all offices, both civil and military; and about this time the General Assembly, by sending abroad visitors into the country, made almost an entire change upon the ministry in several places of the nation, purging out the scandalous and insufficient, and planting in their place godly young men ” (p. 48). “ No scandalous person could live, no scandal could be concealed in all Scotland, so strict a correspondence there was between ministers and congregations ” (p. 49). “ Every paroch had a minister, every village had a school, every family almost had a Bible; yea, in most of the countrey all the children of age could read the Scriptures, and were provided with Bibles, either by their parents or their ministers. . . . I have lived many years in a paroch where I never heard ane oath, and you might have ridde many miles before you heard any. Also, you could not for a great part of the countrey have lodged in a family where the Lord was not worshipped by reading, singing, and publick prayers. Nobody complained more than our taverners, whose ordinary lamentation was,—their trade was broke, people were become so sober ” (p. 65).

This happy state of things continued till the year 1662, when the whole country was thrown into a state of anarchy by the subversion of the Presbyterian Church and the establishment of Episcopacy. During the twenty-eight years of social confusion which followed, all the checks which had previously existed on vice and immorality were weakened, if not completely paralyzed. The poor, who had previously been supported by the collections at church doors, dispensed as an act of Christian charity by the elders, were left to their own resources. Beggars swarmed over the country; and not only the greatest misery prevailed, but also such lawlessness and pillage, that strong remedies had to be adopted by Parliament. Laws were for this purpose passed, encouraging people to set up manufactories, and authorizing them “ to seize upon and apprehend the persons of any vagabonds who shall be found beg-

<sup>1</sup> He married a sister of Baillie of Jerviswoode.

ging," declaring "that they shall be subject to their master's correction and chastisement in all manner of punishment (life and torture excepted)." Magistrates of burghs were appointed to build and establish "correction houses," "for receiving and entertaining of the beggars, vagabonds, and idle persons within their burghs, and such as shall be sent to them out of the shires;" "and in case of their disobedience, to use all manner of severity and correction, by wheeping or otherways (except torture)." <sup>1</sup>

The state of things which called for these severe measures happily changed when Presbytery was restored in 1690, and the old arrangements for moral surveillance and discipline revived. The vagabonds and idle persons who had previously roamed through the country, indulging in vice and plunder, were so closely looked after at their own homes by the parochial authorities, and especially by the kirk-sessions, that they soon returned to habits of industry. The correction houses ceased to be required, and the assessments for the support of pauperism which had begun to be adopted were discontinued. Down to the end of the last century, I believe the collections at the church doors, dispensed by the elders, were found sufficient for the maintenance of the Scottish poor.

With regard to the moral condition of the population, it also was looked after, as it formerly had been, by the kirk-sessions, and with like beneficial effects.<sup>2</sup> Their power was no doubt considerably weakened by the abolition of the law which had annexed civil consequences to sentences of excommunication. Dissent also sprang up; principles of toleration began to be recognised, which allowed of the establishment of churches and

<sup>1</sup> Acts 1663, ch. 16, and 1672, ch. 18.

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. Thos. Boston, a native of Dunse, educated at the Grammar School there, and afterwards minister of the parish of Simprin, has left an autobiography which gives some information regarding the moral and social condition of Berwickshire between the years 1695 and 1745. It is evident from what he says of the monthly prayer-meetings at Dunse, Polwarth, and other places,—of the family worship in the families which he visited,—and of the numbers at the sacrament being sometimes so great that a tent had to be erected in the church-yard,—that the piety and religious feelings of the people were all that could be wished. He mentions, also, that there was a bursary in the gift of each of the presbyteries of Dunse and Chirside of £80 Scots for deserving students when they went to Edinburgh College. He obtained one of these.

church courts not possessing the authority and privileges of the Established Church. In consequence, people who wished to escape the censures or the control of the Established clergy, discovered that they had only to join another denomination, or intimate that they did not belong to the Established Church; and then they could commit with impunity many breaches of the moral law which no one could take notice of. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, the kirk-sessions of the Church continued to exercise what powers and influence remained to them. Even within the last fifty years, the repenting stool in the parish church was occasionally occupied, in order that a delinquent should be punished by exposure and rebuke. Mr Kerr, in his *General View of the County of Berwick*, written in the year 1808, refers to the power exercised by kirk-sessions, of obliging "any person guilty of flagrant immorality to appear before them for reproof, and even to undergo public penance in church, the culprit being placed in a conspicuous situation, upon an appropriate seat called the repenting stool. But of *late years*," he adds, "these public appearances are *uncommon*, and private rebuke has been substituted." My friend Mr Tait, now Sheriff of Perthshire, informs me that he remembers having seen a female offender occupy the repenting stool in the church of Tillicoultry, and receive a public rebuke from the pulpit. Mr Bell, now tenant of Cockburn, in the parish of Dunse, told me the other day, that only about thirty years ago he had seen a married man publicly rebuked in the parish of Morebattle, in Roxburghshire.

Even yet the moral surveillance of kirk-sessions has not everywhere become extinct. They still exercise the power of citing before them persons guilty of immorality; and the practice prevails alike in the courts of the Established Church as in those of other denominations. But how feeble is the check now, compared with what it was! In former days every parish was subdivided into districts, one or more elders being in each, whose duty it was to inquire into all cases of scandal, and report them; so that if the session saw fit, the persons charged or suspected might be cited to appear. If they did not appear, they were held contumacious, and deprived of privileges. *Now*, no persons come before kirk-sessions, except spontaneously,

generally with the view of obtaining church privileges, such as admission to the communion table, or baptism for a child. I fear that in many cases the offenders come, influenced by a much less worthy motive, viz. the idea of obtaining absolution for their misconduct. A clergyman of this county informs me, that in his parish some of the offenders appear to consider, and at all events claim, it as a right to come before the session, in order to be rebuked; and after the ordeal is over, they go away with lightsome step. I learn from another clergyman, in a distant part of Scotland, that in his parish there are two cases in which one family has three daughters who have fallen, and eight cases in which one family has two daughters in the same predicament; also that eight young women had fallen twice, and three had fallen three times. Now, if these offenders after every lapse come to the kirk-session, and go through the form or farce of a rebuke, it is manifest that the check which once operated, by fear of punishment and degradation, has entirely ceased; and perhaps even harm instead of good arises now from ecclesiastical interference. The parishes in which this laxity of discipline and fearlessness of censure exist, are in counties where illegitimacy prevails in the largest proportions. In the north of Scotland, the surveillance is still tolerably strict; and it is in these counties<sup>1</sup> that immorality prevails in the least proportions, according to the Registrar-General's returns.

The views I am now expressing are, I find, entertained by the clergy in the county of Wigtown, by whom this painful subject was investigated two or three years ago. I have had sent to me a printed copy of a report given in to the Presbytery of Wigtown, dated in 1864, in which reference is made to the following as one of the causes of the immorality which prevails so much in that part of Scotland: "Church discipline (as is noticed in one of the returns) has dwindled down into little more than a form,—a state of matters to be profoundly deplored, and fraught with disastrous results. Things have come to this pass, that offenders, in too many cases, look upon the refusal of ordinances with absolute indifference, or apply for them in one or other of the non-established churches, and not always without

<sup>1</sup> In the six most northern counties the percentage is five and a half. The average for Scotland generally is ten.

success." The reverend gentleman who very kindly sent to me the Wigtown report, made the following remarks in his letter:—

“The allegation (in the report) that Dissent contributes greatly to a relaxation of discipline over the country, though strongly and publicly repudiated at the time it was made, by some of our dissenting brethren, is undoubtedly and demonstrably true. Not only could instances be pointed out of great laxity in the admission to privileges of those who had left or been refused by the Church; but kirk-sessions, both within the Church and outside of it, are (consciously or unconsciously) restrained by the fear of driving people out of their several communions, and are less firm and disinterested in the administration of discipline than they otherwise would be. But for Dissent, the parish minister would have the undivided superintendence of the parishioners, and would know of each, that he either was or was not in attendance upon ordinances; whereas, even in manageable country parishes, he cannot have this knowledge, as the fluctuating part of the population may easily, and often do, profess to be Dissenters, in order to escape from all ecclesiastical supervision.”

I have perhaps dwelt too long upon these points; but I confess that they appear to me to lie at the foundation of that change for the worse, which the moral condition of our Scotch population during the last century has undergone. The checks and safeguards which existed previously to that date, have almost all of them disappeared; offences against morality, religion, and public decency, are not now visited with the same punishment, or looked on with the same abhorrence, or sought out with the same vigilance, with a view to prosecution, as they used to be; and those functionaries who were authorized to prosecute such offences are now, in that respect, obsolete or powerless, whilst no other guardians of public morality have come in their stead.

The system which formerly prevailed, and with such signal success, in Scotland, reads, I think, an important and instructive lesson. That system, in its ecclesiastical features, of course, can never again be revived. No good to the Church arose from it; but as the Church was willing to lend its aid, our Scotch legislators wisely availed themselves of the services of a numerous and powerful ecclesiastical staff, spread through the country as ministers, deacons, and elders. In these days there were no pro-

curators-fiscal, chief constables, or rural police. But the principle which our forefathers acted on—of having guardians of public morality in every city, county, and parish—is as applicable now as in their day ; and it is because that principle has been latterly neglected or not sufficiently acted on, that vice and profligacy have so largely increased.

2. In the foregoing remarks, I have adverted to the laws, civil and ecclesiastical, enforced in former days, but latterly fallen into desuetude. But there are other causes also, which have contributed to the immorality now prevailing.

(1.) In the first place, observe how in olden times the sons and daughters of our farm-servants were employed after outdoor work was over. Almost all the shirts, sheets, and other fabrics of that kind required in families were made at home, and by the female members of the household. A certain portion of ground was allotted to every ploughman and shepherd, on which to grow flax. The conversion of the flax into lint, the conversion of lint into yarn, the yarn into thread, and the thread into cloth, was almost entirely the work of the women-servants in evening hours. The young men, in like manner, were employed in mending, if not in making, their clothes and shoes, and also the horse harness, etc. All this occupation, so useful in promoting industrious habits, and cherishing domestic tastes and affections, has long since come to an end. Fabrics are now made so cheaply by machinery, and the facilities for sending them to the remotest hamlets are so great, that the acquisition of them by purchase has entirely superseded home-spun or home-made goods ; and the evenings formerly spent at home by the grown-up sons and daughters of our farm-servants are now spent in visiting.

(2.) Another change has taken place, which affects for the worse even younger children. It is too much the practice now, not only in manufacturing, but in many agricultural districts, to remove boys and girls from school at the tender age of ten or eleven, in order to put them to some trade or occupation which will add to the family income. The children are not unwilling to obey in this respect the parental behest, preferring any employment to the work and discipline of school, and receiving, as they perhaps not unnaturally expect, a small por-



tion of their wages. As matter of course, the money so got is spent on luxuries, such as sweetmeats and showy dresses. Thus habits of self-indulgence, extravagance, and independence of parental control, are acquired at an early age, which are destructive of those virtues of frugality, thrift, and deference to authority, which are so necessary for the happiness and wellbeing of the working classes. As the parents thus become dependent for a portion of their income on their children, they abstain from such control as irritates them. Probably it is owing to this cause, in very many cases at least, that the change has taken place, adverted to in the following paragraph of the Wigtown Presbytery report: "The good old practice of catechizing children on Sunday evenings has been given up, and they are not required to go to church, even when their parents attend it. Being thus allowed to grow up under the almost entire absence of religious and moral restraint, it is scarcely matter for wonder that in so many cases they turn out ill."

I fear that the indifference here alluded to on the part of parents, whether their children attend church or not, prevails in other places than Wigtownshire. One Sabbath-day last summer, when going to church in this parish, and within sound of the bell then ringing, I noticed five lads, from thirteen to fifteen years of age, climbing trees, apparently in search of birds' nests, close to the high road, and in view of numbers of persons walking to church. I stopped the carriage, and remonstrated with them, asking if they were not ashamed of themselves, of which, however, even when spoken to, they gave not the least symptom. These lads were well, even gaily dressed.

3. Hitherto I have been referring to the old external checks on immorality afforded by public laws, official supervision, home occupations, and parental control; but in former days there was another kind of check—internal, so to speak—arising from deep religious feeling, and a profound reverence for God's laws and ordinances. I hope I may be mistaken when I say, and yet I cannot help expressing my fear, that the piety of Scotland is not what it once was, and therefore operates less powerfully than it did in restraining from evil.

It was only a few days ago, that one of my neighbours in

this county, a tenant, mentioned to me that four of the families occupying cottages on his farm never went to any church; though his farm is only two miles distant from the parish church and three miles from a Dissenting chapel, both of which are provided with excellent and efficient clergymen. I much fear that the hinds on this farm are not the only absentees from church; and that, in this respect, manufacturing districts will afford a still larger proportion of the population who neglect the important duty of public worship. As to family worship, which in former days prevailed so generally, the examples of it are now but scanty.

4. Whilst thus many of the old checks on immorality have diminished or disappeared, some new laws and institutions have of late years been established, which appear to me to have been, to say the least, not unfavourable to immorality.

Under this head, I may allude particularly to the poor laws, which in many ways have a most deteriorating influence.

(1.) I think, for example, they encourage that vice to which I have already more than once alluded, as the most flagrant of the present day, and in which our county stands pre-eminent. If an unmarried woman gives birth to a child, for which neither she nor the father is able to provide, the parochial board must supply funds for the maintenance not only of the child, but of the mother also, till she is again able to work; and if the father wishes to escape contribution to either object, he has only to leave the district, so that his residence shall not be known to the inspector of the poor or mother; and this is a practice which is exceedingly common. I need hardly observe, that were the parties concerned, to anticipate that their misconduct would entail misery and expense on themselves and their relatives, this consideration would act powerfully as a check; whereas, when they know that the public will pay the cost, that check is destroyed. It is true that the Poor Law Act declares (in 80th sec.), that

“Every husband or father who shall desert or neglect to maintain his wife or children, being able so to do,—and every mother and every putative father of an illegitimate child, after the paternity has been admitted or otherwise established, who shall refuse or neglect to

maintain such child, being able so to do, whereby such wife or children, or child, shall become chargeable to any parish, shall be deemed to be a vagabond, under the provisions of the Act 1579, c. 74, and may be prosecuted criminally before the sheriff at the instance of the inspector of the poor, and shall, on conviction, be punished by fine or imprisonment."

But this enactment is virtually a dead letter: 1<sup>st</sup>, Because the father takes care to remove to some district where he cannot be discovered; and, 2<sup>d</sup>, Because the expense and the difficulty of the prosecution alike deter inspectors from venturing on it. Accordingly, it appears from the Poor-Law reports, that during the last ten years, the yearly number of such prosecutions has been, for all Scotland, on an average, only 106,—of which but 67 succeeded; and that during last year these numbers have been respectively only 99 and 58.

The remedy which I would suggest for this state of matters, I reserve for a future part of my address. At present I am endeavouring only to state the existing evils, and the causes of these.

In connection with the subject of immorality, and that form of it to which I have just been adverting, it is proper to advert to the late period of life in which marriages usually take place in Scotland. There can be no doubt that the large and increasing amount of illegitimacy among our population arises to a great extent from marriages being less frequent, or being too long postponed. This proposition, which common sense suggests, is fully borne out by reference to the returns of the Registrar-General.

In the Appendix C, No. II., I have given a table showing for all Scotland, and also in certain counties and parishes, the number of marriages in proportion to the population. The counties and parishes selected are those for which the numbers of illegitimate births were stated in a table immediately preceding, so that the connection between the two subjects might be studied. From these two tables it will be observed, that the counties which show the largest proportion of marriages (viz. Lanark and Edinburgh), are those in which illegitimate births are fewest; and that the counties which show the least proportion of marriages (Peebles, Berwick, and Wigtown), are those in

which illegitimate births are most frequent. The same rule holds even in parishes, Coldstream and Eyemouth being examples of the fact.

The truth to which I have been adverting is also illustrated, by referring to the age at which people marry; it being found that in those districts of the country where marriage takes place at a late period of life, illegitimacy most abounds.

On this point the following table is instructive, showing the proportion of the population in Scotland and in England, respectively, who marry at the ages stated:—

PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS AT DIFFERENT AGES WHO MARRIED IN THE COURSE OF THE YEAR 1862.

Ages.	MEN.		WOMEN.	
	Scotland.	England.	Scotland.	England.
19-20	2·21	2·32	7·13	7·97
20-21	4·70	5·90	8·79	10·75
21-25	34·48	41·50	37·49	38·99
25-30	29·86	25·52	24·13	19·55

From this table it is plain, that of the population, both male and female, under the age of 25, a much larger proportion marry in England than in Scotland. A similar result is arrived at by looking at the proportion of marriages to the whole population. In England (on an average of the three years ending 1864) the proportion was one marriage for every 119 persons; whereas in Scotland (during the same period) it was one for every 142 persons.

Now compare the amount of illegitimate births in the two countries. In the year 1864 (the last year for which I have seen returns), the percentage of illegitimate to total births was, in all England, only 6·4 per cent., being just about one-third less than in Scotland. The highest proportion in any English county was 11·4 per cent.—viz., Cumberland, marching with Scotland at the west end of the Border, and presenting a striking contrast to our county on the Scotch side of the Border at the east end, in which the proportion is 17·2 per cent.

An instructive table is given by the Scotch Registrar-General, in the census for 1861, showing the average age at

which men and women marry in Scotland—viz., 28 for men, and 25 for women. Unfortunately, there is no similar table in the English census; but from what has been already shown of the earlier period at which young people marry in England, it is most probable that the average age for men and women is much less than the above figures.

On this point it is not uninteresting to note the average age in France at which men and women marry. From a French publication I find, that in the year 1866, the age for men was  $30\frac{1}{2}$  years, and for women 26. Now I believe I am not wrong in stating, that immorality, and that species of it to which I have been referring, is at least as flagrant in France as it is in Scotland. I see it stated that the number of foundling children gathered off the streets of Paris, during the year 1861, was 3768. It is another instructive fact, that, dividing the last forty-five years into periods of fifteen years, the number of children to a marriage in France was, during the first period, 3·7; during the second period, 3·20; and during the third, only 3·10. In Scotland the average number of children to a marriage, according to the returns for 1866, is 4·5. In England it is about the same.

There can be little doubt that it is owing to the lateness in the period of life when people in France marry, that the number of children to a marriage is so small.

The consequences are hurtful in a national view, apart from the question of personal morality; because, unless the births exceed the deaths in a proper proportion, the country cannot prosper. The following table shows, in France and Great Britain respectively, the deaths and births which took place in the year 1866 for every 100 persons:—

	In France.	In Scotland.	In England.
Deaths, . . . . .	2·41	2·08	2·25
Births, . . . . .	2·87	3·52	3·49

Or, to put the matter otherwise, for every hundred of the population who die, there are, in France 119 births; in Scotland 169 births; in England 150 births.

The population of France accordingly increases at a very slow rate. During the last fifty years it has been sometimes stationary, and during the years 1854 and 1855 it actually retrograded.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Annuaire de l'an 1867*, p. 248.

I think, therefore, these various statistics very clearly demonstrate the truth of the inference drawn from other considerations, that the lateness of the period of life at which people marry, has much to do with the large amount of illegitimate births.

The next step in our inquiry is, the reason *why* marriages are so much later in some countries, or in some districts of the same country, than in others. On this point the Scotch Registrar-General<sup>1</sup> has recently thrown out some views, which appear to me exceedingly important. Adverting to the smaller proportion of marriages in Scotland than in England, he remarks, that "the greater difficulty of procuring a livelihood in Scotland no doubt contributes to this result," which, he says, is confirmed "by comparing the marriage-rate of the several counties of Scotland with one another. Thus in Sutherland only 36 marriages occurred for every 10,000 inhabitants; but in Renfrew, where every man willing to work can procure ready employment, 89 marriages occurred in every 10,000 persons. In fact, the proportion of marriages, as exhibited in that column, gives a very close approximation to the comparative facility of finding employment in each county, as every one acquainted with Scotland would at once allow."

Now, this theory would at once explain why in the agricultural counties, the proportion of marriages are fewer than in manufacturing counties; for whilst in the former the weekly wages to a working man are from 12s. to 15s., and to a woman from 5s. to 6s., the same persons in a manufacturing county would easily get—the men from 20s. to 30s., and the women from 9s. to 12s. per week. The same explanation applies to parishes with a prosperous fishing population, as in the parish of Eyemouth, where, as we have seen, the proportion of marriages is greater, and the proportion of illegitimate births less, than in purely agricultural parishes; for in the former parishes the earnings of the labouring classes, male and female, are at least double the earnings of the same classes in the latter parishes.

But the "facility of finding employment" and of "earning a livelihood," which the Registrar-General thinks affords a suffi-

<sup>1</sup> See Ninth Report, p. 17.

cient explanation of this matter, is, I fear, not the whole truth. No doubt the receipt of higher wages, in some counties and parishes, removes certain obstacles to marriage. It occurs to me that we must go deeper, if we would discover the real cause of a condition of things which prevails, not in particular districts only, but throughout the whole of Scotland. It is true that in the agricultural counties, where the evil predominates, the earnings of the working classes are less than in other districts; still they are considerably higher than they used to be in these same counties, when there was much less immorality. And though the prices of provisions are also higher, still my belief is, that the means of living are, to say the least, quite as good and ample as they used to be in days gone by.

But the style of living is different. There is more spent now on present indulgence, in the way of food, clothing, visiting, and amusement. There is less laid by for the future. There is not so much self-denial and self-control, and a great deal more of luxury and show. The story told by Mr. Smiles of the worthy Scotch couple, who explained how their son had broken down, when they had succeeded so well in life, is true generally of all the working classes:—"When we began life together, we worked hard, and lived upon porridge and such like; gradually adding to our comforts as our means improved, until we were able at length to dine off a bit of roast meat, and sometimes a boilt chuckie. But as for Jock, our son, *he* began where *we* left off—he *began* wi' the chuckie."

The virtues of frugality, temperance, and forethought, which formerly distinguished the working classes in Scotland, have sadly died out. To present enjoyment, much is sacrificed which ought to be reserved for higher objects; and thus many young men and young women are prevented marrying in our agricultural districts, because they have saved none of their earnings with that view. The general practice is now, throughout Scotland, to live, as the saying is, from hand to mouth; and it is because the wages of manufacturing districts are so high, as to afford to a married couple the means of living, that marriage can be entered into there even without any "providing" previously formed.

Another cause of the prevailing immorality in Scotland,

which some persons consider very prolific, is the defective accommodation in the dwellings of the labouring classes. It is asked, how can ideas of modesty, or even the decencies of life exist, where there are grown-up sons and daughters, besides parents, occupying dwellings with only one apartment, or with two apartments? and in this respect, the case is worse in those agricultural districts where the bondage system prevails, when a stranger female worker must be an inmate of a ploughman's cottage.

I have, under the previous head of my address, given a table showing the numbers of dwellings in Berwickshire of different sizes.

To enable us to judge whether this county is better or worse than other counties, in the matter of sufficient accommodation, I give the following table, taken from the census returns:—

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES IN COUNTIES OCCUPYING HOUSES WITH

	No Window.	One Window.	Two Windows.	Three Windows.
Lanarkshire, . . . . .	0·54	38·71	37·20	10·65
Fife, . . . . .	0·45	33·10	40·23	9·85
Linlithgow, . . . . .	2·16	44·05	33·09	7·79
Edinburgh, . . . . .	0·48	34·93	31·11	10·44
Haddington, . . . . .	0·65	37·36	32·42	9·94
Peebles, . . . . .	0·56	32·57	31·10	11·75
Selkirk, . . . . .	0·09	37·93	33·07	9·52
Roxburgh, . . . . .	1·95	37·87	31·13	9·33
Berwick, . . . . .	0·66	40·15	29·77	8·89

In this table it is assumed that a house with one window contains only one apartment; and certainly an apartment without a window scarcely deserves the name. Taking that view, it would appear, that in our county no less than 70 per cent. of the whole families in the county occupy dwellings having only two apartments, or less.

On that fact, it is argued that there need be little wonder that so much immorality should prevail among the agricultural population; or that there should be so much drunkenness, on account of the little inducement for the labouring classes to remain at home, when their dwellings are so comfortless.



Now I do not wish to undervalue the advantages of good-sized cottages containing separate apartments. But I question much whether the small size of cottages, or the want of separate apartments, has much to do with the question of immorality. Those who support the affirmative must explain why, when cottage accommodation was much more defective than it is—as was the case half a century ago,—the amount of immorality among our labouring classes was greatly less. Every year we see the style and comfort of the dwellings of the labouring classes improving; and in no county more so than in Berwickshire. Yet the picture presented by the Registrar-General's returns for the whole country, and for our own county in particular, becomes every year blacker.

In confirmation of this view, I may draw attention to the circumstance disclosed in the table just given, showing the percentage of families in different counties occupying defective dwellings. A comparison with the Table I. in Appendix C enables me to present the following comparison:—

	Percentage of families in houses with less than three rooms.	Percentage of Illegitimacy.
Lanarkshire, . . . . .	76·45	8·9
Fife, . . . . .	93·68	8·5
Linlithgow, . . . . .	79·30	10·7
Edinburgh, . . . . .	66·52	9·3
Haddington, . . . . .	70·43	10·1
Peebles, . . . . .	64·23	16·7
Selkirk, . . . . .	71·09	11·0
Roxburgh, . . . . .	70·95	12·6
Berwick, . . . . .	70·53	17·2

Now, among these counties, the three which have the largest proportion of families with bad dwellings (Lanark, Fife, and Linlithgow) show only 9·3 per cent. of illegitimacy on an average; whilst the three counties which possess the fewest bad dwellings (Edinburgh, Peebles, and Berwick) show no less than 14·4 per cent. of illegitimacy on an average.

This view of the matter is, I find, that also taken by the Registrar-General. In his Fifth Report, he mentions that in the northern and north-western divisions of Scotland the dwellings with one room only, are the most numerous, and there illegiti-

macy is less frequent; whilst in the north-eastern division, dwellings with one room are far less numerous, and there illegitimacy abounds.

Therefore, if this matter—viz. the want of separate apartments in the dwellings of our labouring classes—has any influence at all in producing immorality, its weight must be infinitesimally small.

In the foregoing remarks I have not adverted to the subject of bothies. I do not know that there are any statistics which specially throw light on their effects on the morals of the inmates; but I need hardly observe, that when young persons reside in them, they are in far less favourable circumstances than when they are members of a family household. There is in bothies much less restraint, no superintendence, and often an inducement to be absent from a dwelling containing little domestic comfort, and often disagreeable inmates. If bothies occupied by young men are in this respect objectionable, bothies occupied by women are still more so; and I am sorry to learn that, in consequence of the disappearance of the bondage system in Berwickshire and East Lothian, female bothies have already begun to be established in both counties. From information given to me by those who are personally cognizant of the facts, I feel satisfied that female bothies are an institution most objectionable in every way.

I have alluded to the existing poor law in Scotland as tending to encourage that particular form of immorality which the Registrar-General's returns illustrate. But it is not in that respect only our poor laws are doing harm. They are producing most baneful effects on the conduct and habits, not of young persons only, but of the whole labouring population, engendering idleness, improvidence, neglect of family duties, and attempts at imposition.

Sir George Sinclair of Ulbster was the first person who opened my eyes to these effects, in an excellent pamphlet published by him some years ago. But there are more recent and more influential authorities to whose evidence I would specially refer, viz. the officers employed by the Board of Supervision to aid them in administering the existing law.

What says the late Mr. Briscoe, a most intelligent officer,

who for seven years was general superintendent in the Highland districts, and had been previously a poor-law overseer in Ireland? When asked by a committee of the House of Commons—

Whether “the effect of the outdoor relief was very demoralizing?” his answer was: “Not the least doubt of it. It has deteriorated, to a considerable extent, truth, industry, morality, self-respect, self-reliance, the natural affections, and independence of character. It appears as if the humbler classes had completely changed character. There is now no shame whatever in demanding relief, even among some of higher station.”

Mr. Walker of Bowland, the able secretary of the Board of Supervision, and who has held the office for twenty years, bears testimony much to the same effect. In a well-written pamphlet by him, published two years ago, to which I shall afterwards more particularly advert, Mr. Walker, after stating that “under the influence of a poor law without due checks, there is a progressive diminution of manly independence among the population,” goes on to say that, in his opinion, “the only method yet devised capable in any degree of stemming the current of deterioration, is the system of workhouses, as they are termed in England and Ireland,—of poorhouses, as they are called in Scotland.” He explains the special vices engendered by the poor law, which he expects the poorhouse will check. He says it will “check imposture among applicants for relief;” it will “enforce observance of the natural and moral obligations to maintain relatives in sickness and indigence;” it will “discourage improvidence, intemperance, and profligacy among recipients of relief.” Therefore he admits that the fruits of our present system of poor laws are “imposture,—the non-observance of natural and moral obligations,—improvidence,—intemperance,—and profligacy.”

Such testimony from Mr. Walker and Mr. Briscoe—intelligent and experienced administrators of the law, who have, to say the least, no interest to malign it,—seems to me most important. Who can wonder at the amount of immorality prevailing in the country, when the poor laws are prolific of such vices as those just enumerated?

I think the poor laws have also much to do with the existence of another unpleasant social feature to which I have

adverted—the unfriendly feeling existing between our labouring population and the classes above them. The labouring classes are told that they have a legal right of maintenance, in certain circumstances. This right is more distinctly declared by the Act of 1845 than it had been before. Moreover, by that Act the right of relief was extended, inasmuch as it was made competent to apply the funds raised by assessment, to the support of what are called the occasional poor. By that Act unlimited power was given to parochial boards to assess for whatever sums they choose to expend. The consequence of this Act was, that the labouring classes formed the most agreeable, though no doubt exaggerated, anticipations of what they were to receive. Accordingly, in the two years 1849 and 1850 the number of persons whose applications were rejected—and with the approval of the sheriff, on being appealed to—amounted to no less than about 30,000; and though after these years the numbers diminished, the rejected applications, during the first ten years of the present poor law, amounted on an average to 9000 annually: now they are about 6000. Of course these rejected applicants and their relatives not only are discontented, but feel aggrieved, and consider that it is from selfishness on the part of the ratepayers that they are refused relief. Even those who are admitted, grumble that more is not allowed,—selfishness and heartlessness being in like manner imputed as the reason why the allowances are doled out in stinted pittance. No one who has seen the unthankful and dissatisfied manner in which any relief is received, can doubt that such feelings prevail in most cases; and thus an unfriendly and bitter spirit is engendered on the part of both recipients and ratepayers. I think, also, that certain classes of the ratepayers are themselves actuated by unkindly feelings, on this special ground, that they think they should not be assessed at all. I allude to those who are themselves very little above the condition of paupers; and on account of this feeling, I very much regret that there is no power in the Poor Law Act, as there is in the Statute Labour Act, of exempting from assessment, owners and occupiers of property the rental or value of which is under £5. In several of the parishes with which I am connected, owners and occupiers of houses of so low a rental as £2 yearly are assessed.

If, then, our poor laws are productive of mischief as regards the moral and social wellbeing of the population affected by them, it is to be hoped that their influence is not extensive. But the case is far otherwise, judging by the number of paupers, and the funds which have to be raised.

The amount of pauperism in Scotland seems to be as great or greater than in any other part of the United Kingdom. From the *Edinburgh Almanac* I gather, that the proportion of paupers to the population in England is one in every twenty-one persons, and in Ireland one in every eighty-nine persons, whilst in Scotland it is one in every seventeen, if dependants (*i.e.* members of the pauper's family who share the relief) are included. If they are not included, the proportion is one in every twenty-three persons.

The progress of pauperism in our own county of Berwick may be seen from the following table:—

From year 1775 to year 1784,	1 in 78 persons.
„ 1785 „ 1794,	1 in 68 „
„ 1797 „ 1806,	1 in 45 „
„ 1807 „ 1816,	1 in 39 „
„ 1817 „ 1826,	1 in 33 „
„ 1827 „ 1836,	1 in 28 „
The year 1840,	1 in 24 „
„ 1863,	1 in 17 „
„ 1866,	1 in 17 „

The expenditure on pauperism for all Scotland is as follows:—

	Total.	Per head of population.		Per cent. on real property.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
In year ending Feb. 1, 1846,	295,232	2	3	3	3	4
„ May 14, 1851,	534,943	3	8½	5	14	11
„ May 14, 1856,	629,348	4	4½	6	15	0
„ May 14, 1861,	683,901	4	5½	7	6	8
„ May 14, 1866,	783,125	5	1¼	8	8	0

## III. REMEDIES.

Having, under the two preceding heads, pointed out what appear to me the most serious social evils of our day, and endeavoured to indicate at least some of the causes of these evils, I now approach the last head of my address, which is, to suggest remedial measures for these evils.

1. The first subject to which I shall advert is the particular form of immorality embraced by the Registrar-General's returns.

I have already explained why I think that no small encouragement is given to parties misconducting themselves, by knowing, that though they may be unable to maintain either a child, or the mother during her illness, the parish will do so. I will be asked, Do I propose, then, to abrogate the law which in these circumstances makes relief forthcoming? I admit the difficulty of the question; because, whatever be the misconduct of the unfortunate mother, she ought not to be allowed to starve, to say nothing of the case of the innocent child. I shall afterwards offer some views on the principles of poor-law relief, which I here only now refer to, for the purpose of saying, that I think there ought to be two funds for the relief of the poor, —one to be raised by assessment, so that it may be relied on; the other to be raised by voluntary contributions, and therefore of a more precarious character. Out of the last-mentioned fund, cases of the nature to which I have been referring, might be relieved.

There is, however, another suggestion on this point, and which I offer with more confidence. The man who, in the circumstances referred to, deserts both child and mother, being able to support them, the poor law declares to be a vagabond, as he assuredly is; and it authorizes the inspector of the poor to prosecute him criminally. I have already explained why this provision is virtually a dead letter. Now, on this point, and in order to carry out the intentions of the Legislature, I would devolve the duty of prosecution on the procurator-fiscal. He is more competent for such duty, than our inspectors of the poor, who, in most cases, are ignorant of legal forms, and of the measures necessary to secure conviction. Hence the large proportion of acquittals, when prosecutions have been ventured on.

Moreover, I would simplify and shorten the procedure necessary to establish paternity, when the father denies it. In England, as I am informed by a well-employed solicitor in Berwick, a judgment for the aliment of the child till the age of fourteen years, and for the maintenance of the mother during her illness, can be obtained from the justices, on six days' notice, and at an expense of from 5s. to 8s. In Scotland the same procedure would cost from £5 to £8, and would occupy months before a decision could be obtained. The case in England is treated as semi-criminal, and so it deserves to be. In Scotland it is treated as entirely civil, and has to go through all the forms of a civil action.

I think that the Scotch forms should be assimilated to those employed in England for such cases.

If this measure were adopted, so as to render prosecutions more easy, not only would parishes be benefited, but what is of more consequence, many a poor woman would get justice, which the expense and delays of litigation at present prevent; and the better to ensure this end, I would make it competent for the procurator-fiscal to take up the case, at the instance of the woman, in order to establish paternity, and at the public expense.

A still more important good would arise from such an arrangement. Many a man would be deterred from misconduct, when he saw it would certainly expose him to prosecution, in the event of his afterwards refusing to support mother or child. At present there is no such consideration to deter, as he is well aware of the impossibility of a poor woman raising a civil action in the Sheriff Court, and of the facility with which he can bid defiance.

2. The next subject to which I address myself is the Scotch system of poor laws, which, as I have already stated, is the source of an immense amount of moral and social evil.

I know that this is a subject which has ever perplexed moralists and statesmen; so that any views I possess I advance, with no desire to be dogmatical.

It appears to me that the weak or injurious points of our present poor-law system ought first to be considered.

I divide into two classes the poor who receive relief.

There are, *first*, those who are permanently and irrecoverably

disabled from work by reason of some disease or defects, bodily or mental,—such as the blind, the deaf and dumb, the insane, the deformed, the maimed, the paralytic, cancerous, etc.

There are, *second*, those who are disabled from work, totally or partially, by reason of old age or childhood, or by reason of occasional sickness.

The dangers to the interests of society and morality, arise only from the latter of these classes, when there is secured to them a legal right of maintenance. The circumstances giving them this right are the ordinary events of life, for which it becomes all to provide. The circumstances characterizing the former class, may not reasonably be anticipated; and when they do occur, inflict lasting and almost hopeless disaster on a working man.

There is this further distinction between the two classes,—that in the latter are comprehended almost all who bring themselves into destitution by misconduct; whilst comparatively few such belong to the first class.

Therefore, to secure to the second class of destitute persons a right of maintenance, is to relieve them from the consequences of their own misconduct, to induce them to become improvident, and to neglect natural and moral obligations.

The next step in the inquiry is, How to raise funds for these two classes of destitute persons.

As a distinction exists between the two classes, in respect of a moral or equitable claim for maintenance, so I think there should be two funds raised from separate sources.

For the first class of permanent poor, I see no objections to an assessment on property. For the second class, I think funds should be drawn from other sources; and that relief to be allowed to them, should be less generous than to the other class.

Then come the questions, By whom shall the claims of the poor be investigated? By whom shall the relief be dispensed,—and in what form given?

At present, as we all know, the parochial board and their inspector perform the duties now adverted to.

Are they persons who are suited to these duties?

The parochial boards, in parishes not burghal, consist of all owners of heritable property under £20 of yearly value, with a



certain number of ratepayers whose property is less in yearly value than that sum; and also six members of the kirk-session.

In very few cases are the meetings of parochial boards attended by the principal heritors of a parish. Generally the elected members attend, and a few others of similar social position.

I need hardly add that parochial boards seldom or ever come into personal intercourse with claimants for relief. The duty of investigating their circumstances devolves on the inspector; and if relief is agreed to be given, that relief is dispensed by the inspector.

Now, without at all questioning the respectability, honesty, and intelligence of the members of parochial boards who generally attend, I do seriously question their fitness for the delicate and sometimes difficult questions arising under the administration of the poor laws. It must be remembered that these poor laws involve often abstruse questions; and though the Board of Supervision has endeavoured to explain clearly the duties of both parochial boards and inspectors, considerable study is necessary for understanding them. Notwithstanding this, I have often seen that the great majority of the members attending, afford little assistance, the business to be done being so different from those to which they are accustomed.

That I am not singular in my opinion of the unfitness of parochial boards, at least in rural parishes, I may refer to a leading article in the *Poor-Law Magazine* for December 1866, a periodical conducted by persons thoroughly conversant with the administration of our poor laws.

The editor says:—

“After a practical working of more than twenty-one years, the laws which regulate the duties of inspectors of poor should be generally understood and well defined. This is not so, however. There is no point connected with the management of the poor in which ignorance more prevails, on the part of members of parochial boards. We question if one in ten ever read, nay, ever saw a copy of the Poor-Law Act, or of the regulations issued by the Board of Supervision to facilitate its working. We believe also there are many inspectors of poor who are in the same state of ignorance. It may not be too much to say, in attempting to account for this ignorance, that there are parishes in Scotland in which not a copy of the Poor-Law Act or of the regulations of the Board of Supervision are to be found.”

The selection of an inspector of poor rests with the parochial board. I need hardly observe that, in fixing his salary, the board do not give more than is absolutely necessary : in some cases I know, they have fixed on so small a sum that the Board of Supervision refused their sanction to the appointment. I am afraid that parochial boards do not always succeed in finding suitable persons ; and sometimes they fail in that oversight of them which is desirable. A few months ago, in one parish in which I am an heritor, the Board of Supervision found that the parochial board had for two years omitted to audit the inspector's accounts ; in another parish with which I am also connected, the inspector, who had been previously a sheriff's officer, absconded, being a defaulter to the extent of £100 or more.

I see from Mr. Caird's book, published in 1851, the trials of three inspectors charged with culpable and wilful neglect of duty, whereby in each case a pauper died. In two of the cases the inspectors were convicted, and fined in £50.

A precognition against two other inspectors, for the same offence, was taken at the instance of the Lord Advocate, which resulted in their dismissal by the Board of Supervision.<sup>1</sup>

I may mention that a minute had to be passed by the Board of Supervision, with reference to a general complaint against inspectors, for not replying to official letters and communications ;<sup>2</sup> and another minute was passed, reprehending the practice of inspectors furnishing the paupers with provisions or other articles from their own shops, and deducting the price thereof from the allowances to these paupers.<sup>3</sup>

These facts I adduce, to show the character and position of many of the inspectors. There is, I know, often great difficulty in finding proper persons to undertake the office ; and generally in rural parishes no one can be found, unless he has some remunerative employment, such as parish schoolmaster or shop-keeper. A combination of duties is of course advantageous to the parish, there being the less salary to pay ; but it is not beneficial to the poor, as it is often difficult for a man who has other pressing duties to discharge, to look after the poor.

With regard to the manner and form in which relief is given,—it is partly given to the paupers at their own houses,

<sup>1</sup> Dunlop on the Poor, p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 231.

and partly in poorhouses. The Board of Supervision have encouraged the establishment of poorhouses, of which there are now fifty-eight in Scotland, some of a very large size, and applicable to parishes embracing a population of 2,362,743, or rather more than three-fourths of the whole population of Scotland; and there are eight more poorhouses building, applicable to a population of 242,713.

The fifty-eight poorhouses now in operation are fitted for the reception of 13,438 inmates. The number actually in the poorhouses on 1st January 1866 was 8037.

As the total number of the poor, including dependants, is 286,212, it follows that more than eleven-twelfths are receiving out-door relief; and that relief I believe to be almost entirely in money. Relief in the form of blankets, coals, or provisions does not form one-thousandth part of the £615,000 entered in the last year's accounts as paid to the permanent and casual poor.

Whilst referring to the form of relief, I must take notice of the decision recently given by the Court of Session regarding the right of parochial boards to send all descriptions of paupers to the poorhouse. The effect of this decision may probably be to stimulate the movement in favour of poorhouses, as an impression had previously prevailed, that the institution was intended only for persons who were unprovided with any dwellings of their own, or who could not be trusted with out-door relief.

The circumstances of the case were these:—Francis Forsyth, sixty-five years of age, a shoemaker by trade, had also been postmaster at Burghead, in the parish of Duffus. He was seized with scrofula in his right arm, which disabled him from work. He had no children, but he had an industrious wife, who by her earnings supported herself and husband for several years. At length he felt obliged to apply to the parish for some help,—which was granted in the year 1853, and was continued down to the year 1865, when a poorhouse having been built in a neighbouring parish, the parochial board of Duffus acquired right to send a certain number of their paupers to it. It was then intimated to Forsyth, that the out-door relief, which had been given to him previously, would be discontinued, and that

if he wished any help from the parish, he must go into the poorhouse at Elgin.

Forsyth declined to receive parish relief on the condition of his going into the Elgin poorhouse, as he preferred to remain in the cottage he had always lived in, and to be looked after by his wife, rather than by poorhouse officials. He also explained that, as his wife was still able to earn wages, it would be less expensive to the parish to help him in his own cottage, than maintain him in the poorhouse.

The parochial board, however, adhered to their resolution, and Forsyth complained to the sheriff.

When he came before the sheriff, he stated (as mentioned in the sheriff's judgment) "that he wanted nothing more than a continuance of the partial relief of 2s. a week, and some extras which he had been previously receiving. He was still able to do a little for himself, and, with the assistance of his wife, who supported herself and assisted in supporting him, they found that the partial relief from the board, enabled them to carry on."

The parochial board, when they explained to the sheriff their reason for stopping the out-door relief, and insisting on Forsyth's going to the poorhouse, stated that they did so "in the exercise of their discretion, deeming him a proper object for a poorhouse. The applicant, as requiring medical relief, would there be supplied with daily attendance from the medical officer, and all his other wants would be promptly and carefully attended to."

The sheriff held that the parochial board was not entitled to insist on Forsyth's going to the poorhouse—an institution which he considered to be intended (in terms of the Poor-Law Act, sec. 60) only for "the aged and other friendless impotent poor, and for poor persons who, from weakness or facility of mind, or by reason of dissipated habits, are unable or unfit to take charge of their own affairs," to none of which classes he held Forsyth to belong, inasmuch "as his wife, who maintains herself by her industry, and who does not herself apply for relief, is residing along with him, and as it is not alleged that he is either weak, or facile, or of dissipated habits."

The Court of Session, on an appeal by the parochial board, reversed the judgment of the sheriff.

The opinion of the Court is explained in the following remarks of the Lord Justice-Clerk (19th January 1867):—

“When the impotent poor are to be maintained, it is as necessary to provide them with a house to live in, as with food and clothing; and it would be a strange thing to restrain a parochial board from collecting in one house, the poor scattered throughout the parish. I am aware that the question has been passed, whether there are not many cases to which the poor-house test should not be applied; and I have no wish to interfere with the kind and benevolent administration of the poor in that respect. But the question before us is not one properly of administration, but of pure law. Is any one of the legal poor entitled, as matter of right, to out-door relief? And to that question I have no hesitation in giving the answer, that it is in all cases a legal tender of relief to offer admission to the poor-house. It has been said that the workhouse was intended, under the provisions of the 8th and 9th Vict., only for a certain class of poor persons. That is to me quite a new proposition.”

The importance of this judgment will at once be seen, when it is considered, that under the law as declared by it, out-door relief may be dispensed with altogether; and the fear is, that parochial boards, actuated by the same views which the Duffus parochial board manifested, will exercise the powers which the law, as now expounded, undoubtedly gives to them.

Perhaps it may be asked, what motive could have influenced the parochial board of Duffus in refusing to continue the 2s. a week to Forsyth in his own house, which was all he asked for, seeing that the average weekly cost of maintaining paupers in the Elgin poorhouse is 5s. 7½d. per week?<sup>1</sup> The only apparent explanation of the circumstance is, that they anticipated Forsyth would refuse to go into the poorhouse, rather than leave his own parish, his home, and his wife, and to undergo the severe discipline of the poorhouse, where everything would be uncongenial to his habits and feelings. The parochial board of course benefited by his refusal to the extent of 2s. per week. Now, the fear is, that many parochial boards and inspectors will adopt the same policy with all their paupers who they think will prefer to stay at home, and remain with their family,

<sup>1</sup> See *Report of Board of Supervision* for 1866, p. 215.

if they have any, rather than go into the poorhouse. The advantages to these functionaries are several. There is not merely the saving of the pauper's allowance, but there is an immense saving of trouble in inquiring regarding the circumstances of the pauper when he claims relief, and the ability of his relatives to support him; in visiting the pauper, which the inspector is bound to do twice a year; and in dispensing relief from time to time, especially if it be other than money. For these reasons, it is plainly the interest, and therefore will be in too many cases the policy, of parochial boards to drive all applicants into poorhouses, and so deter them from claiming, by making it known that no other kind of relief is likely to be given.

There is another consideration which will induce parochial boards to send as many paupers as possible to poorhouses,—that the larger these establishments are, the more economically are the paupers maintained.

I have dwelt more on this subject than I would have done, had it not been that public attention has not yet been called to the importance and danger of the powers now ascertained to be vested in parochial boards, and to the great likelihood of these powers being exercised, according to the example set by the parish of Duffus.

I confess that I think the resolution of the Duffus authorities to deprive the old postmaster of his small weekly allowance of two shillings, unless he left his home and his wife to go into the Elgin poorhouse, was both cruel and unjust; and since the law allows such an act to be done, the sooner that law is altered the better.

I am quite aware that Mr. Walker of Bowland considers that we have no alternative but to adopt poorhouses. In his very able and instructive pamphlet on *The Effects of Poorhouses in Scotland, in checking Pauperism and diminishing the Expense of providing for the Poor*, he gives a number of striking examples of these effects. Thus, in the following cases, the diminution in the number of the paupers, after the poorhouse was opened, was:—

	Number of Paupers.	
	Before Poorhouse opened.	After Poorhouse opened.
Kilbride, . . . . .	150	100
Barony, . . . . .	8425	7639
Dumfries, . . . . .	612	323
Kirkcudbright, . . . . .	1154	995
Easter Ross, . . . . .	1011	754
Dundee, . . . . .	2696	1776
Jedburgh, . . . . .	227	204
Stirling, . . . . .	386	224

It is therefore true, that the effect of poorhouses is to diminish the number of paupers;—for many, like the old Duffus postmaster, will rather go to the brink of starvation than into a poorhouse; but it does not in all cases follow, that the assessments on the parish will on that account become less. It is found that the expense of management is very great; to say nothing of the risk of a governor appropriating money and stores to his own purposes, which happened lately in a neighbouring county. Accordingly, it will be seen from the following cases, quoted in Mr. Walker's pamphlet, that the expenditure, instead of diminishing after the establishment of a poorhouse, greatly increased,<sup>1</sup> and at a rate far beyond what was due to the increase of population.

	EXPENDITURE.		Increase of Expenditure.	Increase of Population.
	Before Poorhouse opened.	After Poorhouse opened.		
	£	£	Per cent.	Per cent.
Kirkcaldy, . . . . .	2897	3470	18·4	8·7
Kirkcudbright, . . . . .	2677	3097	15·7	0·26 decr.
Easter Ross, . . . . .	3876	4607	18·8	4·43 „
Dundee, . . . . .	12787	13757	7·6	7·2 „
Falkirk, . . . . .	3349	3827	14·2	4·5
Jedburgh, . . . . .	2280	1883	17·4	5·04 decr.
Kirkpatrick, . . . . .	1809	2405	28·7	5·1
Monkland, . . . . .	3655	3914	7·0	13·0 decr.
Galloway, . . . . .	6340	7057	11·3	2·6 „

The reason is obvious enough, taking into account the

<sup>1</sup> The sums in the following table, showing the expenditure after the poorhouse was opened, would have been greater had Mr. Walker included the cost of the building; but this he has not included, as he himself observes.

greater expense at which a pauper is maintained in the poor-house than in his own house.

Mr. Walker's valuable pamphlet proves this in the following cases :—<sup>1</sup>

	AVERAGE AMOUNT OF ALLOWANCES TO PAUPERS.	
	Before Poorhouse opened.	After Poorhouse opened.
Kirkcudbright, . . . . .	£7 10	£8 18
Dundee, . . . . .	4 14	7 14
Jedburgh, . . . . .	5 6	9 4
Kirkpatrick, . . . . .	6 0	8 12
Galloway, . . . . .	5 12	6 12
Stirling, . . . . .	5 7	10 0

There are a few cases, undoubtedly, as mentioned by Mr. Walker, in which, after the poorhouse became available, the expenditure was lessened. Out of the twenty-four cases specified by him, there are eight in which this result followed. It is to be presumed that in these eight cases, the deterrent effect of the poorhouse had been such as to strike large numbers off the roll; and in that case, it is easy to see how the parish will benefit.

But the question is, Whether such a policy is in itself justifiable or expedient?

There is undoubtedly one class of paupers to whom the poorhouse, with its strict and severe discipline, is not unsuited. I mean those who are undeserving. It was for this class especially that I think the institution was proposed, when the Board of Supervision issued their circular to parochial boards in 1850, explaining the objects of poorhouses. In that circular it is remarked, that since the Act of 1845—

“The altered feelings of the poor in regard to parochial relief, their more perfect knowledge of their rights, and the facilities which

<sup>1</sup> From the returns of the expenditure in poorhouses, given on p. 215 of the *Poor-Law Report* for 1866, it would appear that the average cost of maintaining a pauper in them is £12, 3s. 9d. The cost of maintenance for the whole paupers of Scotland, of whom 11-12ths receive out-door relief, is only, on an average, £6, 1s. 5d. (p. x. of *Report*). In Paris it is found that the sick poor, when maintained in hospitals, cost £2 per head; when maintained in their own homes, 13s. per head.



the law now affords for enforcing these rights, have caused a strong pressure on parochial boards, from a class whose claims it would be unsafe to admit without testing the truth of the allegations on which these claims are founded. For this purpose a well regulated poor's house is the best of all tests. While it furnishes sufficient and even ample relief to the really necessitous, it affords the only available security that the funds raised for the relief of the poor are not perverted to the maintenance of idleness and vice. But a poorhouse will be useless as a test, or rather it will not be a test at all, unless it is conducted under rules and regulations, as to discipline and restraint, so strict as to render it more irksome than labour (without such discipline and restraint) to those who are not truly fit objects of parochial relief."

This circular was accordingly accompanied by a set of rules and regulations for the management of poorhouses, some of which are as follows :—

1. All the inmates shall go to bed, rise out of bed, be set to work, and have such intervals for their meals, as the house committee may appoint.

2. The clothing to be worn by the inmates shall be of such materials as the house committee may determine.

3. No person shall visit any inmate except by the permission of the governor; and the interview shall take place in the presence of the governor, or some one appointed by him.

4. No inmate shall smoke within the poorhouse or any building belonging thereto.

5. The religious instruction of the inmates shall be committed to a chaplain, who shall preach to the inmates every Sabbath.

6. Inmates who refuse to attend on account of their religious principles, shall be engaged during the time of divine service in reading, or hearing read, such religious book suited to their religious persuasion as the governor shall sanction.

7. Inmates who disobey rules, or are guilty of any of the offences specified, shall be punishable by undergoing solitary confinement, or by wearing a different dress, or by suffering an alteration of diet.

Now, I quite admit the reasonableness of the strict discipline implied in these rules for a particular class of paupers, viz. those "who (in the words of the circular) are not truly fit objects of

parochial relief." It is manifest that it was to deter such persons from claiming relief, that this discipline was intended, and it is quite proper that the class now alluded to should be subjected to it. But why should those paupers who *are* fit objects of relief be also subjected to this treatment? Why should the blind, the paralytic, the irrecoverably maimed, or the permanently diseased, be forced into a poorhouse, and be subject to such rules and regulations as I have referred to? It seems to me, that to oblige all classes of paupers to go into a poorhouse, and be made to obey the same rules of discipline, is to confound the innocent with the guilty, and to expose the deserving poor to a punishment which is proper only for the undeserving.

The Secretary of the Board of Supervision, in his pamphlet, after remarking, "That under the influence of a poor law without due checks against lax administration, there is a constant augmentation in the recipients of relief, and a progressive diminution of manly independence among the population,"—argues that, "the only known beneficial check is the system of workhouses, as they are termed in England and Ireland,—of poorhouses, as they are called in Scotland." It is "the only method yet devised, capable in any degree of stemming the current of deterioration." But he adds, "The success of a poorhouse depends very largely upon the efficiency of its internal discipline and management, and upon the judgment and firmness of the parochial board in offering in-door relief. Without these, failure is certain, and the cost of the establishment will be thrown away."

In this passage Mr. Walker speaks of the English workhouse and the Scotch poorhouse as similar institutions. I confess that I cannot take this view. In England the ablebodied have a right, if out of employment, to call on the parish to provide work for them. Therefore in England workhouses are absolutely necessary, and in which it is quite proper that this class of paupers should, by the discipline and restraint put upon them, find the work in it more irksome than labour, without such discipline and restraint. This maxim, which appears in the circular of the Board of Supervision, is very suitable to the case of English workhouses; but I think it has very little applicability to Scotland, where the ablebodied poor have no right

of support in any form, because of being out of employment. If an able-bodied man or woman falls into temporary sickness, in which case interim relief may be given, there is no necessity for subjecting them to the severe discipline in question.

I have gone at some length into the question of poorhouses, because I see the encouragement given to them by the Board of Supervision, and the interest which parochial boards and inspectors have to adopt them, and work them, so as to deter destitute persons of all classes from claiming relief. I have lately been asked whether I would aid in establishing a poor-house for this county—a circumstance which has led me to look into the question more carefully; and I am glad of the opportunity of now explaining my reasons for not joining in the movement.

But I will of course be asked, What, then, do you propose? You admit that the system is most burdensome to the country, and that it is also demoralizing to the population. If you object to the extension of poorhouses, which the Board of Supervision in 1850 said, “afforded the only available security that the funds are not perverted to the maintenance of idleness and vice,” and which the Secretary of the Board in 1864 declared to be, in his opinion, “the only method capable in any degree of stemming the current of amelioration,”—have you any better measure to propose?

In answer to this question, I have only to say, that in France and Belgium there are neither workhouses nor poorhouses (like ours), nor poor rates; and yet in both of these countries the poor are well cared for. Lucien de Pontes<sup>1</sup> mentions that the following were the numbers of the poor in Paris in the year 1858:—

In Hospitals and Infirmarys for Sick, . . . . .	91,007
In Asylums for Insane and Aged, . . . . .	12,494
In their own houses, . . . . .	32,105
Supported by Philanthropic Society, . . . . .	4700
	<hr/>
	140,306

Now, as Paris had in 1858 a population of about 1,650,000, there was relief given to one out of every eleven of the population in that capital, which is a large proportion; and yet there

<sup>1</sup> *Social Reform in England*, by a French Critic, p. 203.

are no assessments, as in this country, for raising the necessary funds.

I wish I could, in the course of this address, give some outline, however brief, of the system pursued in France and Belgium for the relief of indigence, and for preventing the poor from falling into that state. Having lately perused two instructive volumes called *Legislation Charitable*, containing the laws and edicts which have been passed, and are now in force, for the support of the poor, I am enabled to give the following summary of the chief features of the French system:—

1st, There is no legal right of maintenance to the poor of France out of any public funds, or from any public body, except in the case of the destitute insane.

2d, There are two kinds of in-door relief. It is given in hospitals and almshouses (*hospitaux et hospices*); the former being for the sick, wounded, etc.; the latter for the aged, the paralytic, the incurably diseased, orphans, foundlings, etc.

3d, Out-door relief is administered by the *bureau de bienfaisance* in each parish, and in the case of a town, in subdivisions of the town.

4th, Out-door relief consists as seldom as possible of money, —chiefly provisions, fuel, clothes, and medicines.

5th, No hospital, or almshouse, or *bureau de bienfaisance* can be established without the sanction of the Government; and power is given to a minister of state to modify the constitution of these bodies according to certain general principles.

6th, The members composing a *bureau de bienfaisance* consist of certain official persons resident in the parish or town (the *prefêt* or mayor being chairman), who are the *commissaires de bienfaisance*, and they are required to conjoin with them a certain number of females belonging to the order of “Sisters of Charity,” who are always summoned to the meeting, and have an opportunity of advising but not of voting.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Jerrold, who visited Paris in 1863, and drew out an account of the system followed in that city for supporting the poor, mentions that in each of its twenty *arrondissements*, there is a committee (*viz.* the *bureau de bienfaisance*) “directed by the mayor and his subordinates, in co-operation with some thirty or forty of the charitable ladies and gentlemen of the *arrondissement*. These commissioners visit the poor in their own homes, or receive them at their own houses, and report on their merits.”—*Social Science Association Report for 1864*.

7th, "Les sœurs doivent visiter à domicile les indigentes malades, les panser au besoin, préparer et distribuer, sur les ordres des médecins, les tisanes, et les médicamens simples, qui seront indigents." "Elles pourrout être chargées, en outre, par le Bureau, de faire certaines distributions de secours en nature, mais toujours avec la participation et sous la responsabilité des secretaïres tresoriers."

"Les commissaires de bienfaisance et les dames de charité concourent aux distributions de secours. Ils prennent et donnent des renseignements sur les demandes des indigents ; visitent ceux qui sont secourus par le bureau, afin de constater, s'il y a lieu, changemens de domicile, et de connaître leur condition et l'état de leur famille."

8th, "Les services dans les commissions administratives des hospices et dans les bureaux de bienfaisance sont considérés comme des services publics, et competent pour l'admission dans l'ordre royale de la Legion d'Honneur."

9th, "Les sœurs de la charité employées dans les hospices, que leur age ou leurs infirmités rendent incapables de continuer leur services, pourrout être conservées à titre de '*Reposantes*,' à moins qu'elles n'aiment mieux se retirer, auquel cas, il pourra être accordé des pensions, si elles ont le temps de service exigé, et si les revenus de ces etablissemens le permettent."

10th, The funds for the support of the hospitals and almshouses are derived chiefly from mortified lands, donations, yearly subscriptions, legacies, the produce of royal forests, commonty lands, and grants of money voted from time to time by the Legislature.

11th, The funds for administration of out-door relief are derived from :

- (1.) A tax of a centime on all tickets sold for the opera, theatres, circus, concerts, public balls, fireworks, horse-races, etc.
- (2.) The sale of graves in public cemeteries.
- (3.) A tax on wine and all kinds of provisions entering towns.
- (4.) Voluntary contributions.
- (5.) Yearly legislative grant.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the year 1848, I observe that the legislative grant was 500,000 francs, the greater part of which was given to the bureaux de bienfaisance.

12th, In the year 1840 the expenditure on hospitals and almshouses was forty-nine millions, and on out-door relief nine millions, of francs.

13th, No public begging is allowed. Beggars are apprehended and punished ; and if found to belong to another parish, they are sent back at its expense.

14th, The members of the bureaux de bienfaisance and the "sœurs de charité," employed in dispensing out-door relief, are not recompensed by any salary or wages.

15th, The giving of charity to persons asking it either on the streets or at private houses, is discouraged ; and individuals are recommended rather to send their charity to the bureau de bienfaisance.

16th, There are obstacles thrown in the way of the aged entering the hospices. Encouragement is given to them to remain in their own dwellings, receiving help from the bureau. On entering an hospice, inducements are held out to their agreeing to pay a small sum monthly for their board and lodging.

17th, Great encouragements are afforded by the state to the establishment of provident and friendly societies for the benefit of the poor.

I have given this full summary of the leading features of the French system, in order to show that it avoids what I venture to consider the objectionable features in ours. These are, (1) the giving to our poor a legal right of maintenance, which is capable of being enforced in a court of law ; (2) the giving to parochial boards an unlimited power of assessment for the support not only of the permanent, but of the occasional poor ; (3) entrusting the care of the poor to paid officials, most of whom are very ill qualified for the duty ; (4) the establishing of poor-houses, managed in such a way as to make them repulsive to the poor, and allowing parochial boards to refuse relief except in these institutions.

There is one other point which I consider a blot in our system, and that is, the utter absence from it of all the true characters of Christian charity : Charity in the proper sense of the word, we do not even affect to call it. It is known among us only as poor rates : we regard it simply as a tax, and one more than usually odious, because it causes grumbling both in those who

pay and in those who receive. Our system entirely wants that quality of true and genuine charity which is twice blessed. How different and how superior in this respect is the system in France ! The code of poor laws there is correctly and properly intitled "Legislation charitable, ou recueil des lois, et instructions qui regissent les etablissements de bienfaisance." Their houses of refuge for the poor, their boards of management, and their administrators of relief, all bear the outward features as they breathe the spirit of genuine benevolence ; and the poor receive both the relief administered and the visits of the almoners, with gratitude.

Another advantage of the French system, though I attach less importance to this consideration, is the economy of management, which may be judged of from the fact, that in Paris the amount of expenditure on out and in-door relief together amounts to about one million sterling, whilst the expense of management is only £58,000,<sup>1</sup> being under 6 per cent. In Scotland the expense of management is 18 per cent.

There are two elements in the French system which ensure greater economy. The *first* is, that three-fourths of the administrators of relief act gratuitously. In Paris, for example, whilst there are about 1000 clerks who keep the books and the stores, and collect funds, etc., there are nearly 3000 almoners (commissaires and sœurs de charité), who visit the poor, and take to them the necessary relief. I see it stated that throughout France, in the year 1848, there were about 12,000 "sœurs" all engaged in attending on the sick and the poor in hospitals, almshouses, or at their own homes. I suppose the number must be now very much greater. The *second* element which conduces to the economy of the French system are the means taken to help the labouring classes from falling into permanent destitution. The importance of this point is pressed earnestly by the Government on the bureaux in the instructions which form a part of the "code charitable,"<sup>2</sup> and great efforts are

<sup>1</sup> Jerrold on Paris Poor.—*Social Science Association Report* for 1864, p. 629.

<sup>2</sup> " Il est une regle qui peut conciliera à la fois, les droits de l'humanité et les interêts de la societé ; e'est que la charité publique doit principalement faire en sorte d'empêcher l'individu de tomber dans l'indigence, ou l'aider en sortir, en entretenant en lui l'amour du travail, l'esprit d'ordre et d'economie, et enfin en

made in that direction by the establishment of friendly and benefit societies. But under our system little or nothing is done by parochial boards or inspectors of poor to keep the working classes from sinking into destitution. Their services do not begin till after destitution has been reached; and I question much whether these functionaries have the qualifications for performing the previous and more important duty.

Having thus explained the principles of the French system,<sup>1</sup> so sound in theory and so successful in practice, I ask why an effort should not be made to adopt them in this country?

Will it be said that it would be impossible to get up in Scotland a staff of superior almoners, male or female, similar to those in France, to spend a portion of their time in administering to the relief of the poor?—I should be ashamed of my country were this statement true. Until the attempt is made, and proved a failure, I will not believe that there is any lack of kind-hearted Christian men and women in all our large towns and in our populous country parishes, ready to be employed in this work of Christian usefulness. There are facts which confirm me in this belief; for wherever a proper appeal has been made, or a right opportunity given to persons to enrol themselves as visitors of the poor, as many have always come forward as were wanted for that purpose.

In London, even now, more than half of the sick and aged poor are supported in this way, and not out of the poor rates.<sup>2</sup> There are in London upwards of 600 institutions for dispensing relief to the poor, who, from dislike of the workhouses, refuse to make known their distresses to the overseers. One of these institutions, established about twenty years ago, is the “Association for the Relief of Destitution in the Metropolis,” having the Bishop of London as president, and on its committee of management the Duke of Marlborough, the Marquess of Westminster, the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Earl of Harrowby, Sir Walter

lui offrant dans les moments difficiles, les moyens d'améliorer sa position par ses propres efforts.”

“ Associer le pauvre lui même à son propre soulagement, au lieu d'alimenter sa misère, l'obliger à faire effort pour en sortir, c'est assurer à la bienfaisance toute son efficacité, sans avoir à craindre aucun de ses dangers.”

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix FF, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix G, p. 109.



Farquhar, Thomas Baring, M.P., Thompson Hankey, M.P., Henry Kingcote, W. E. Gladstone, M.P., besides about twenty other persons equally reputable. Last year this association expended of its own funds, in relief of the ordinary poor, about £5000, and in relief of cholera patients about £16,000, besides eliciting about £5000 more from local sources for special objects. The society has a staff of voluntary district visitors, numbering about 1200, and last year it aided 112 district visiting societies scattered through the metropolis. The following are the principal rules of this association :—

“That societies receiving aid from its funds, shall administer the relief thus supplied by means of a system of gratuitous visiting from house to house.

“That the relief be afforded *at* the house of the poor by ticket, or otherwise.

“That it be, as far as possible, in kind, not in money.

“That the funds of the Association be administered to objects deserving of relief, without distinction of religious persuasion.

“That no part of the grants of the Association be employed in paying district visitors.

“That the local societies aided, seek to carry out the main principles on which the Association has been founded, viz. not merely to administer charitable aid in temporal matters, but to improve the social, moral, and religious condition of the poor.

“That a number of visitors in proportion to population, shall be an essential ingredient in determining the amount of the grant; and where, in the opinion of the committee, an adequate number of visitors is not procured, they will make a smaller grant than in other cases.”

Another of the London societies is that for “The Relief of Distress,” and was established six years ago. Its working committee is also composed of men in the highest social position. The following is an extract from last year’s Report :

“The total grants made during the past year have amounted to £3288, 13s. 1d., a sum fully equal to meet the demands made, and which has been most carefully distributed by the almoners.

“The committee have to return their most sincere thanks to the ladies and gentlemen who have kindly acted as almoners, for the praiseworthy manner in which they have performed their arduous duties.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “As I have mentioned the expense of management in Paris, I may add here,

A recent author, who has paid much attention to the condition of the poor in London, thus speaks of the almoners of the charitable societies, to whom reference has just been made :—

“The district visitor must have a deep and abiding sense of the nobility of his or her mission. The true servant of the poor must have patience, a will to refuse, where the applicant is undeserving, and a heart at once courageous and gentle. It is trying even to pass the doorways, and loiter in the neighbourhood of the poor. But to enter their thresholds, and spend hours in places where the dainty would fear to enter, is the visitor’s bounden duty. It is a severe task ; yet it is done, and by an army of volunteers, whose moral prowess is an honour to the country. They are a martyr band, doing good by stealth, without fee or applause. They are soldiers, with conscience for their captain.

“These servants of the poor are to be counted by the thousand in England. They are of every sect that flourishes in our midst. I have shown the Roman Catholic Little Sisters busy at their pious work, and I shall presently tell of the bands of Protestant ladies who are equally mindful of the distressed. There are even guardsmen<sup>1</sup> in the ranks of district visitors, who travel once a week to Bethnal Green, call on the incumbent, find out cases of distress, examine into them with their own eyes, and relieve them.” (Page 268.)

The London poor are indeed fortunate in having their wants relieved by associations like those of which I have given two specimens, and by such kind-hearted, disinterested, and judicious almoners, as they employ.

Why should the principle of these excellent institutions, and of the mode of administration adopted by them, not be followed universally in Scotland ?

It is, indeed, already followed, to a certain extent, in Edinburgh, as, for example, by the *Destitute Sick*, the *House of Refuge*, and the *Night Asylum Societies*. The first of these has the following paragraph in their last year’s Report :—

“That the large sums annually expended by the Destitute Sick Society are not given away without careful inquiry into the circumstances of applicants, may be inferred from the fact that, during the past year, 11,966 visits have been paid by members of the visiting that the cost in the two London societies, here referred to, of administering relief through their gratuitous almoners, was last year 3 per cent. and 9 per cent. respectively.”—*Jerrold’s Signals of Distress*.

<sup>1</sup> See in Appendix H, p. 110, two letters from an officer in the Horse Guards, explaining the duties of an almoner.

committee. The directors are ever desirous of calling the attention of the public to this feature of their operations, and to assure their subscribers that all means are taken to secure the right application of the funds committed to their care. Not only do the visitors, who so kindly labour in connection with the society, consider all applications for assistance, and inquire into the circumstances of all applicants of whom they have no knowledge, but they visit, time after time, those who are receiving aid from the society, in order to give them all the counsel, comfort, and encouragement in their power. In the visitor, the destitute sick feel that they have a friend; and there are not wanting many pleasing proofs of the gratitude of those who have been relieved, alike to the visitor, and to the society whose funds he has dispensed.

“Through this most useful society, not only are medicines and weekly allowances of money given, but the destitute sick are supplied with coals, blankets, meal, and any articles of clothing of which they stand in need. The visitors, also, frequently direct and assist them in making application for assistance to those on whom they seem to have a claim.”

“*The Night Asylum for the Houseless*” does not limit its usefulness to providing lodging to poor persons passing through the city, or leaving the infirmary, or in want of an asylum from any other cause; it supplies them also with plain and wholesome food whilst in the asylum, it upholds a soup kitchen for the general poor of the city in winter, and it assists those who are out of work to get into employment. To last year’s report there is appended a list of the situations or employment obtained for destitute persons through the instrumentality of the directors and their visiting committee. Another list is appended, which, though not alluded to in the report, deserves to be noticed, for the proof it affords of the Christian spirit which guides and actuates the managers of this society. It is a list of the gentlemen who form the “committee of visitation, for the examination of applicants,” “the attendance” of the members being stated to be “every evening (Sabbath excepted), at 8 P.M.” Last year’s report contains the following remark, in the soundness of which I fully sympathize. If this society were

“Placed under the direction of the Poor-Law Board, having its funds provided by an increase of the poors’ rates, much of the moral benefit that has hitherto been derived from its operation would be lost. The recent revelations of the casual wards in London, do not

tempt to the introduction of a similar system here, and the proverbial harshness and indifference of workhouse officials, would be a bad substitute for the gratuitous and self-imposed services of benevolent individuals."

These two societies, from whose reports I have just quoted, have not been brought forward because they are better than all the rest. I do not happen to have with me here in the country, the reports of any of the other numerous societies in Edinburgh. But I have no doubt that almost all the others, and there are at least a hundred in the town, take similar means to dispense their charities, and look after the poor who are relieved by them.

I am not acquainted with the charities of any of the other towns in Scotland; but I know that there is a society in Glasgow which has no less than from 400 to 500 male visitors, who dispense charity to the poor of that city in their own houses.

From the facts to which I have now referred, and from what I know of the feelings of the public generally, I am satisfied that a machinery could be constructed for dispensing to the poor of Scotland out-door relief, through the instrumentality of gratuitous and kind-hearted almoners.

In organizing arrangements for that object, I would hope that female help should be obtained; and I am sure, to be obtained, it has only to be asked for. There are now several charitable institutions in Edinburgh, entirely and most successfully managed by ladies. There are even prisons for female convicts, both in England and in Ireland, each containing several hundred prisoners, which are managed by females. There are in France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, and America, hospitals and prisons for both men and women, which are superintended and managed by females, and with the most signal success. It is a great stigma upon Scotland, that we so stupidly exclude female management and female help, from almost all institutions where poor suffering humanity has to be relieved.

Funds would not be wanting, when the public saw that they were to be dispensed through such instrumentality as I have been suggesting. Even now, I believe, far more is raised in

Edinburgh, for its various charitable societies, than is levied as poors' rates, and a greater number of poor relieved by the former than by the latter. Were the present unsatisfactory and unpopular method of relieving the poor by official inspectors to be abrogated, the public would be so pleased that, I have every confidence, voluntary contributions would be doubled.

Whilst I would not supersede the present system of asking subscriptions from door to door, I would certainly encourage the raising of funds by the old Scotch method of church collections; for there are many persons who prefer that method of giving their charitable contributions, in order to show obedience to a divine command. Whilst the precept to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and visit the sick, would bring forward many to be almoners in the dispensation of charity; the other precept, "Give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven," would also cause many an offering to be given in the church. It is no doubt from some feeling of this kind that the practice in all our churches still prevails, of having on every Sabbath a collection for the poor, though every one knows that the poor would not be any degree worse off if there were no collections. But there is a satisfaction felt in putting into the plate or the ladle, even though the necessity has passed away. As that feeling exists, and the practice continues, advantage ought to be taken of it, for an object so good in itself, and so connected with religious duty.

3. I pass on now from the large and difficult question of pauperism to some minor questions, and yet having an important bearing on the moral condition of society.

One of these is the vice of drunkenness, for the repression of which our present law is less efficient, and less sound in principle, than the laws of our forefathers. Our old statutes made the penalty vary according to the rank or social position of the offender, being 20s. Scots for a servant, 40s. for a yeoman, 20 merks for a baron, £20 for a nobleman, and a fifth part of a year's stipend for a minister. The penalties also were increased by repetition of the offence. Now, both of these principles are ignored in our present law, which simply enacts (25 and 26 Vict. cap. 35) that any person who is found on any thoroughfare or public place in a state of intoxication, and incapable of

taking care of himself, and not under the care of some suitable person, shall be fined in the sum of 5s., and, in default of payment, may be sent to prison for a period not exceeding twenty-four hours.

No higher fine or longer period of imprisonment can be imposed, however often a party may be guilty of the offence. In England the law is less defective, by allowing the magistrate, on a second offence, to insist on the party finding security for his future behaviour.

It appears to me that our law would be much amended, were we to adopt the principles of the old Scotch statutes to which I have referred.

4. Another offence, to which I have in the first part of my address alluded as too prevalent, is Sabbath profanation.

This offence, which is recognised as such by the law of the land, to say nothing of a higher law, and which, to the extent it now occasionally prevails, shocks public feeling, ought certainly to be repressed. It should be made the duty of the police, both in towns and in country parishes, to report such flagrant cases as I formerly adverted to, in order that the chief constable or procurator-fiscal should prosecute offenders.

I may observe here, that I think we avail ourselves far too little of our prerogative and privilege in Scotland of having a public prosecutor. It is far more safe and more constitutional to entrust to that officer prosecutions for criminal offences, than to allow them to be raised at the instance of private individuals. We see occasionally prosecutions for cruelty to animals, at the instance of some self-constituted society, and it would be equally competent for any one to prosecute for breaches of the law in regard to secular work on the Sabbath.<sup>1</sup> But it would be better that these, and all other prosecutions for criminal offences, should be made competent only at the instance of the public prosecutor.

5. Another matter, which, as it appears to me, ought to be put under official surveillance, is the attendance of children at school.

I have already adverted to the practice prevailing in some

<sup>1</sup> This is the opinion of the late Baron Hume, *Criminal Law*, vol. i. p. 574.

parts of the country, especially where there are manufactures, of sending children of school age to earn wages at some work or trade; and thus they grow up not only in ignorance, but with intellects greatly stunted.

It concerns the country, not less than the individuals themselves, that this practice should be prevented. It was shown before the School Commissioners, that there are upwards of 100,000 children in Scotland to whom this injustice is done.

It is a national scandal that steps should not have been taken long ago to prevent its continuance. The Legislature has repeatedly recognised its right to compel parents, or the guardians of children, to give to them school instruction, or pay for it.

Thus, the Act 17 and 18 Vict. cap. 74, provides, that "when any young person, apparently under the age of fourteen, shall be found *begging*, or, not having any home or settled place of abode or proper guardianship, and having no lawful or visible means of subsistence, shall be found *wandering*, and, though not charged with any actual offence, shall be brought by any constable before a magistrate, it shall be lawful for the said magistrate, after intimation to the parents, guardians, or others interested in such young person, if the same can be found, and unless such parents, etc., find security for his or her good behaviour, to order such young person to be transmitted to, and be received at, any *reformatory school*, etc.; and it shall be competent for the treasurer of such school to *sue* the parents or other persons liable to support such young person, for payment of the cost of support, and other expenses incurred by the said school in regard to such young person."

So also, under what are called the Factory Acts, Parliament has prohibited the employment of children, in various trades and manufactures, under a certain age, unless they are, whilst so employed, at some school under Government inspection, during a certain number of hours in the week.

The Legislature having thus recognised its right and its duty to interfere in these cases of children found wandering in the streets, or working in the particular trades specified, why should the interference be limited to these cases? Why should children not be prevented from being sent to any trade, manufacture, or employment for hire,<sup>1</sup> if under the age at which they

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix K, p. 113.

ought to be at school? I would go farther, and say that, supposing children of school age are not sent to any trade, but are kept at home to help their parents at a trade, when of an age not fit to work, why should such a practice be allowed?

In America, Canada, Switzerland, Prussia, and Norway, parents and guardians are punished if they prevent children going to school, unless they can assign a good reason. It was also the old Scotch law, penalties being imposed; and the kirk-session records contain ample evidence of the strictness with which the law was enforced.<sup>1</sup>

Some people, I know, are opposed to a system of compulsory education, on the ground that it is interfering with a father's right of managing and training his children. But the answer to this objection is, that a father's power in this respect is not absolute. He has no right to starve his child, or to withhold from him the clothing necessary for his existence. In like manner, he is not entitled to shut out his children from the education and training necessary for a civilised man, and to bring them up as savages.

I sometimes think we carry our notions of civil liberty and personal rights to an extreme. In a free country every man may certainly do, think, write, speak, and act as he likes, provided that, in exercising these rights, he does not injure others. But too little attention is paid to this proviso—a proviso which is very necessary, as a protection both to private and to public interests.

Now, the interests of the public, and the interests of individuals, would be grievously injured, were parents to have the power of depriving their children of school instruction and training.

The working classes, especially, can least afford to lose the benefits of education, as their success in life depends almost entirely on the development of their mental and bodily faculties, and as a power of reading, and a taste for it, are often safeguards to them against baser indulgences.

The benefit to the state arising from the intelligence which school instruction imparts, is well exemplified in the late war between Prussia and Austria, when victory was obtained by

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix L, p. 115.



the former power, with forces only half as numerous and far less experienced than those brought into the field by Austria. It was supposed that the Prussian successes were due entirely to the use of a better musket. It is now allowed, however, that the needle-gun had very little to do with the result. The real causes of success were the superior skill and tactics of the Prussians, owing to their greater intelligence. An official declaration to that effect was made and published by the War Minister of Prussia, which I read a few months ago in the *Times* newspaper.<sup>1</sup>

I am glad to see that steps are being taken by our Government to provide better guns and muskets to the army. But unless they, at the same time, improve the intelligence of those who are to use them, by insuring better school attendance both in England and Scotland, they cannot fight on equal terms with others.

And it is not merely in military matters that this country is losing, if it has not already lost, its superiority. In many mechanical and engineering works the Germans are now quite as skilful, or even more so, than we. At a recent meeting of the Society of Civil Engineers in London (December 1866), a paper was read on German railways, when a discussion arose, in which the most eminent English engineers took part, and in the course of which it was allowed that the mechanical arrangements for German and Belgian railways were superior to ours; and that not only are English engineers now unable to compete on the Continent with foreign houses, but "that one firm, that of Borsig of Berlin, had recently successfully competed in England."

Even French engineers are crossing the channel, and driving us out of our own market. I copy the following paragraph from the *Edinburgh Courant* of the current month: "It is announced that M. Schneider, of the works of Creuzel, has received orders to build sixty locomotives for England. Time was when England supplied France with most, if not all, her locomotives."

On these grounds, I hold that it would be a wise measure to make school education compulsory in this country. There

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix M, p. 115.

should be public officers in every city and in every county, as in many other countries, whose special duty it should be to ascertain that all children who are in good health, and between certain ages, are at proper schools. Through the agency of the local registrars and the police, there would be no difficulty in carrying out such a law. It would press severely on none, except on those who were refusing or neglecting a most necessary duty.

6. Another matter which should be placed under the surveillance of a public officer, is the state of dwelling-houses.

The revelations which have recently been made of the condition of the houses occupied by our working classes in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, and other large towns, are most appalling and shocking. They are worst in large towns, because the most helpless congregate there, and they are there more hidden from observation. But I am sorry to say, that even in rural districts, the labourers' dwellings are not what they should be. The tables referred to by me in a previous part of this address, show that the great majority of the families of our working classes, even in country villages,<sup>1</sup> live in dwellings which are far too small. It is impossible that habits of decency, or feelings of modesty, can be promoted or preserved, when grown-up persons of both sexes occupy one and the same apartment. There is also the greatest risk to health from overcrowding and want of ventilation.

The Legislature has recognised the mischief arising from overcrowding, and has passed Acts to prevent it in particular cases. No poorhouse, for example, is allowed to have in each sleeping apartment more than a certain number of beds,<sup>2</sup> in proportion to its size. In schools under Government inspection, the apartment must not contain more than a certain number of children, according to its size. Under the Act passed a few years ago, called the Burgh Police Act, the sheriff has power, on an application by the Burgh Commissioners, to declare any dwelling "*unfit for human habitation,*" and "*a nuisance,*" which must be removed, if, in his opinion after

<sup>1</sup> Appendix N, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> The Board of Supervision will not allow less than 400 cubic feet of space in the dormitory of poorhouses for each healthy pauper.

inspection, it is "insufficient in size for the number of persons inhabiting the same."<sup>1</sup> If this is right legislation, why should our working classes in towns only get the benefit of it? Why should dwellings be allowed to be erected or occupied in rural districts, which are so "unfit for human habitation" that they would be put down in towns?

It appears to me that the public interests, in such a case as this, require the appointment of a functionary free from all local connection, whose special duty it should be to ascertain whether such objectionable dwellings exist, whether in town or country. It is hardly possible to expect that so delicate a duty should be impartially performed by any one resident in the district to be inspected. In corroboration of this remark, I may refer to the difficulty we often experience, in country parishes, of carrying out the provisions of the Nuisance Removal Act, which requires committees of parochial boards to peram-

<sup>1</sup> 25 and 26 Vict. c. 101, sec. 443, passed 7th August 1862. I understand that the Glasgow Police Act of 1862 regulates the maximum height of houses, with reference to the width of the street,—the window space which must be given in proportion to the size of the apartment,—and the maximum of inhabitants, in reference to the cubic space occupied by them. In Paris, the municipal authorities have power "to condemn all buildings which are in a state injurious to health. These powers have been exercised from the year 1829 downwards,"—forming "a series of precedents which exercise practically a considerable amount of influence over the erection of new houses." In consequence, we found that the evils which the Glasgow Police Act "was intended to check, did not prevail, even in the worst quarters of Paris, to nearly the same extent as in our Salt-market or High Street. We failed to discover any instances in which large families, or several families, were crowded into a single apartment, whether large or small. For the most part, the individual families, even of the artisan and labouring classes, had two apartments at least, and sometimes three; and in all the new houses that we visited, or of which we could obtain information, as specially destined for the working classes, we found that at least two rooms, and even more commonly three or four, were regarded as being essential to the idea of a family house. In fact, it appeared perfectly clear that the truly domesticated working man in Paris, though possibly inferior to many of his compeers in our great towns in political intelligence and in social morality, is greatly superior to most of them in his notion of domestic comfort, and in the sense of personal independence which springs from decent accommodation in his home. He makes good wages certainly. On the other hand, he pays high prices for all the necessaries of life, and spends willingly on house-rent a sum which shows the value he attaches to the first elements of physical comfort, viz. privacy, and sufficient light and air, etc., in the house."—*Report of Glasgow Deputation, who visited Paris in June 1866*, p. 5. See Appendix O, p. 120.

bulate the parish, and hunt out offensive cesspools, choked drains, filthy pigsties, or overflowing ashpits. It is well known to all of us, that it is not easy to find persons to undertake this duty, which is both disagreeable and delicate; and how much strife is often created among neighbours by attempts to discharge it!

It would be infinitely better to devolve this duty on a public officer appointed by the Board of Supervision, whose salary should be paid by Government, and with a power to assess, for repayment of it, those parishes in which that officer should find objectionable dwellings, or defective sanatory arrangements.

The great importance of dwellings with well-ventilated apartments, and cleanliness both in and around them, is shown by comparing the rate of mortality in such dwellings with that in others which, in these respects, are defective. Thus the dwellings of the Metropolitan Building Association of London are occupied by about 2500 persons. Of these, the average mortality is at the rate of 16 per 1000, while that of London generally is 23 per 1000, and in many districts (of which Kensington is one) 40 per 1000.<sup>1</sup>

I have referred to the Glasgow Police Act, as giving large powers to the magistrates to exclude from occupation dwellings containing less accommodation than what is specified in the Act. Three years ago, the magistrates of Liverpool obtained a Police Act, authorizing them to pull down houses which, on the reports of officers, were shown to be unfit for human habitation, on giving compensation to the owners. Under that Act, upwards of 900 houses have been removed at an expense of about £100,000. The system of weeding out these wretched hovels is still going on; and the magistrates have lately undertaken to expend another £100,000 as compensation to the owners. The distress caused to the occupants of these hovels has, however, been extreme; and the overcrowding of other dwellings has been another consequence, insomuch that the corporation has found it necessary, at a cost of about £20,000, to erect cottages for the accommodation of the working classes in the suburbs of the town.

<sup>1</sup> Jerrold, *Signals of Distress*, p. 367.

A wiser course was adopted in Paris, in which city immense improvements have been made during the last ten years, by pulling down miserable houses and widening the streets; but simultaneously with the work of demolition, there went on the erection of cottages in the suburbs, and chiefly near railway stations, to enable the cottagers to go to the workshops in the town early in the morning, and return home at night.

I think, therefore, it would be well, when powers are given to public bodies to demolish wretched dwellings occupied by families, to declare that, before these dwellings are demolished, others should be erected, containing at least the same accommodation, and in the immediate neighbourhood.

7. There is another matter, affecting in a very important degree the general health and comfort of the working classes—I mean the salubrity of running streams. When a boy, I remember well how the inhabitants of Musselburgh and Inveresk used to avail themselves of the water of the river Esk for the bleaching of linens and clothes, which were laid out on its grassy banks, and also for cooking and other household uses. At that time also the river was full of salmon; and many a sea-trout I have seen caught in it. Now, the river is so adulterated that it contains no fish, and is unfit for the bleaching or washing of clothes, or for any of the other domestic uses for which it was so valued by the inhabitants.

This is an evil of such magnitude, on account of the numbers of the population affected, that I think the guardianship of rivers, to prevent the poisoning of the streams, ought to be entrusted to some public officer, whose duty it should be, on a complaint of any one interested, to investigate the grounds of it, and, if satisfied that it is well founded, take steps to abate the nuisance.

I am aware that the law at present allows private individuals, who are proprietors on a river, in such a case to obtain an interdict. But that law, however it may protect the interests of an individual proprietor, does not afford protection to the general body of the inhabitants.

8. I am induced to take notice of another subject which, I think, requires to be looked after by a public officer.

All classes in the country, and especially the working

classes, are now dependent on railways for travelling and transmission of goods. Mail and stage coaches, and carriers' carts, have disappeared, and even post-horses for a carriage cannot be procured, except in large towns.

As railway companies have thus the whole population at their mercy, it seems to me most surprising that no law should have been passed, to see, by means of a Government inspector, that bridges, viaducts, tunnels, and rails, are kept in safe condition, and that the steam-engines and carriages are maintained in proper order.

The only time when any official inspection takes place is at the opening of a railway. There is no subsequent inspection till some frightful catastrophe occurs, causing loss of life or destruction of property. Now, if official inspection be proper at the opening of a railway, to ascertain that the rails, viaducts, and tunnels have been safely formed and constructed, it is equally proper that inspection should take place from time to time, to ascertain that they are kept so. Indeed, such subsequent and periodical inspection is even more necessary, inasmuch as it is quite certain that, in the course of time, repairs, the want of which must occasion danger of life or property, will be required. It is no answer to say that railway companies, for their own sakes, may be trusted to keep things safe. They are not trusted to have things safe at the opening of the railway; and why should they be trusted to judge when repairs should be made? I know a case of a railway bridge which became notoriously insecure, but to which the directors would do nothing spontaneously. The sheriff of the county having heard of it, went himself to inspect the bridge, and being satisfied that it was unsafe, took it upon him to order an inspection by engineers and builders, and, on their report, he ordered the railway company to take down the bridge. The learned sheriff, who is a personal friend of my own, told me that doubts were entertained by his brother sheriffs, whom he consulted how far he had power to do what he did. Now, the law should not be left on so doubtful and precarious a footing. There should be a public inspector, whose duty it would be to perambulate the different lines of railway, and not only inspect them to see whether the works are kept in a safe condition, but

publicly intimate beforehand his visits, so that any persons who have complaints to make, regarding either the insecurity of the works, or the state of the carriages, or trucks, or vans, might have an opportunity of doing so,—and that officer should have power to enforce obedience to any orders he may give.<sup>1</sup>

I have mentioned one case where a railway bridge was notoriously and manifestly unsafe, and yet it was, in that state, used for traffic until the company was forced by official authority to take it down. I could refer to two other important railway bridges,<sup>2</sup> each within twenty miles of this town of Coldstream, both of which having become rent or cracked in one or more of their pillars, ought to be examined by Government inspectors, so that the public should not, as regards their sufficiency, have to rely entirely on the opinion of the railway officials alone. Another object to be gained by Government inspection, is the state of cattle trucks, which are often in so filthy a state, that not only may stock, by being put into them, become diseased, but the entire district of country, through which the line of railway passes, may be infected by the wind blowing through the trucks, and disseminating the spores of disease. When, in August 1865, the cattle plague broke out in London, the danger now alluded to was perceived. But the Board of Trade had no power to compel the cleansing of trucks; so they had to write to the directors of the principal railway companies, representing the importance of keeping the cattle trucks clean, and asking, *as a favour*, that they would be pleased to issue special directions on the subject. It is deplorable that our Executive Government should not have power to insist on the observance of cleanliness in a matter of such importance. The proper way to do so would be to appoint inspectors; and if they discovered any breach of the regula-

<sup>1</sup> Care should be taken that, by the appointment of a Government inspector, the railway companies are not relieved of responsibility. This can be effected by a declaration to that effect in an Act of Parliament. The appointment of inspectors of mines and collieries, steam passenger ships, etc., is guarded by a similar declaration.

<sup>2</sup> One of these bridges has had repairs executed on it, which cost, I understand, about £600—a sum which shows the large amount of the defect. But it was a question among the directors, whether other measures should not have been taken, even more important and much more expensive.

tions issued, they would send information to the chief constable or procurator-fiscal of the county to prosecute.

In other countries, where railways are even less numerous, and more prosperous, than in this country, Government inspection prevails,—for example, in America and Germany.

As an example of the need of a public officer for railway superintendence, I may observe that there is a clause in the North British Railway Act, requiring coke to be used for the locomotives, and not coal. No one, however, is appointed to enforce this provision, and hence it is virtually a dead letter. Better have no law at all, than a law which cannot be enforced.

In the foregoing remarks, it will be seen that I propose to devolve a large amount of important duties on public officers, viz. the procurator-fiscals, chief constables, or Government inspectors.

Some persons may think that the surveillance implied by these proposals is inconsistent with the independence essential to civil liberty. But the keenest advocates of civil liberty must allow that there ought to be a prohibition of things or acts which are dangerous to the lives of large numbers of the population, or detrimental to their health, or grossly offensive to general morality; and that if these things or acts are declared to be offences, some person responsible to the public, or to Government, should be entrusted with the duty of prosecuting. Any country which does not adopt these plain principles, can, in my humble opinion, scarcely be called civilised. Our forefathers in Scotland, as we have seen, largely adopted them; and the legislation of recent times affords numerous illustrations of the same character. I allude to those enactments which restrict what may be termed the natural rights of individuals for the sake of the community, and which punish criminally those who commit the double offence of disobeying the law, and doing acts manifestly hurtful to others. Thus, by the *Factory Acts*, manufacturers are prohibited from employing children under certain ages, parents are prohibited from sending them under these ages to a factory, machinery of a dangerous character is not allowed to be worked without being fenced in, factories are not to be used without having the walls and ceilings washed with lime every fourteen months, and persons



violating these prohibitions are liable to be punished. So also, under the *Mercantile Marine Acts*, masters of emigrant ships are liable to fine and imprisonment if they go to sea without having their ships equipped in a certain way, or if they take in so many passengers that there will not be twelve superficial feet for every adult. Butchers are prohibited from selling or offering for sale *unwholesome meat*, and inspectors are appointed to watch markets and shops, and to prosecute when necessary.<sup>1</sup> Shopkeepers are prohibited from selling except by certain specified *weights and measures*, and inspectors are appointed to visit shops, and if they find any measures or weights which are different, they are bound to give notice to the procurator-fiscal, that he may prosecute. *Gas companies* are, in like manner, punishable at the instance of the procurator-fiscal, if they sell gas by any other meter than that specified in the Act of Parliament (22 and 23 Vict. c. 66). *Publicans* are prohibited from selling spirits, wine, or beer, unless licensed by magistrates, it being first ascertained that they are of good character; and, when licensed, they are prohibited from selling liquor after a certain hour of night on week-days, or during any time of the Sabbath (under certain exceptions), and the chief constable is appointed to prosecute.

The various cases now enumerated, in which, for the sake of the interests of the public, individuals are restrained from doing certain acts, are examples of legislation such as I ask for on the various other matters, in my view, quite as important to the wellbeing of the community; and in advocating this legislation, I therefore ask nothing inconsistent with the institutions of a free country, and the principle of which is not recognised.

In the foregoing remarks, the suggestions I have made imply legislative measures. In the remainder of this address the suggestions are of a different kind, implying chiefly the adoption, encouragement, or extension of institutions and societies now existing, and whose objects bear either directly or indirectly on the wellbeing of the working classes.

<sup>1</sup> In Paris and other French towns, there is a prohibition against selling milk with water put into it. The police have an instrument which detects any admixture of water. Offenders are criminally prosecuted at the instance of the police.

1. In explaining the chief features of the French system of supporting the poor, I mentioned that much encouragement was given to provident and friendly societies. The bearing of these institutions on pauperism is very manifest. There is a proverb, that an ounce of prevention is better than a pound of cure. On the same principle, more good is done by institutions which save from pauperism, than institutions which aliment it. So, also, of fever hospitals erected for patients who have been poisoned by the air of filthy dwellings, or choked cesspools: it would be more economical to spend money in removing the sources of disease, than in building hospitals to cure the disease.

The French, acting on this principle, give the greatest encouragement to friendly and provident societies, adapted for the working classes. The law of 26th March 1852 requires the mayors of towns and the clergymen of parishes to establish

“Une société de secours mutuels, dans chacune des communes où l'utilité en aura été reconnue. Cette utilité sera déclarée par le préfet, après avoir pris l'avis du conseil municipal.

“Les communes sont tenues de fournir gratuitement aux sociétés approuvées, les locaux nécessaires pour leurs réunions, ainsi que les livrets et registres nécessaires à l'administration et à la comptabilité.

“En cas d'insuffisance des ressources de la commune, cette dépense est chargée au département.

“Tous les actes intéressant les sociétés de secours mutuels approuvés, sont exempts des droits de timbre et d'enregistrement.

“Une commission supérieure d'encouragement et de surveillance des sociétés de secours mutuels est instituée au Ministère de l'Intérieur. Cette commission est chargée de provoquer et d'encourager la fondation et le développement des sociétés de secours mutuels, de veiller à l'exécution du présent décret, et de préparer les instructions et règlements nécessaires à son application.

“Elle propose des mentions honorables, médailles d'honneur, et autres distinctions honorifiques, en faveur des membres honoraires ou participants, que lui paraissent les plus dignes.”—(See Appendix P.)

There are many other advantages and privileges given, which I need not enumerate. Those just stated show the policy of the French Government, which is also very clearly explained in the official letters to the préfets, pointing out the important bearing of these institutions in warding off destitution.

Besides friendly and provident societies, the French give great encouragement to loan societies for the poor in various

forms, all adapted to their condition. Mr. Jerrold mentions particularly one of these, called "The Prince Imperial's Loan to Labour Society," the object of which is to lend money to working men for the purchase of tools. The subscribers are chiefly children, the name of the young prince, who is its patron, being used as an incentive to other children to join, and to whom it is also a wholesome lesson to subscribe for a charitable object a penny a week out of their pocket-money. Mr. Jerrold explains that—

"The lady patronesses of the society collect the subscriptions, enlist all the children of their acquaintances, and form them into divisions and subdivisions. When a working man applies for assistance, he must be provided with two witnesses to attest his identity, and declare that he needs assistance, and is a man of well-regulated life. The society is content to take the assurance of these witnesses, as sole guarantee that the money will be returned. The highest sum lent is £20, and the interest charged is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The loans are repayable in three years; but the time is extended in case of illness, or of departure on military duties. Many an astute commercial man will laugh at such a society; but it is nevertheless the fact, that the poor borrowers, who deposit only workmen's honour as security, redeem their pledge to the centime, as the report for 1863 sets forth."—(*Social Science Association Report for 1864*, p. 632.)

I have referred thus largely to the countenance given in France to these institutions of various kinds for helping to keep the working classes out of pauperism, because I think we in this country do not appreciate as we ought to do the immense benefit resulting from them.

I am of course aware that friendly and provident societies exist in this country, and that occasionally the countenance of the influential classes has been obtained for them. The late Prince Albert, for example, presided once or twice at meetings of the Servants' Provident Society, and on one of these occasions explained the usefulness of such institutions, in an address distinguished for sound judgment and Christian philanthropy. Mr. Gladstone also, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, was the author of much useful legislation in this matter, by instituting at all the principal post-offices in the kingdom, savings banks, life insurances, and deferred annuities. The advantages of these institutions to the working classes it is difficult to over-

estimate. Under them a person at the age of thirty may secure to his family £100 at his death, by paying a weekly sum of thirteence; or may secure to himself an annuity of £40, to commence at the age of sixty, by paying a weekly sum of two shillings.

There are also throughout the country a number of institutions supported and managed by the working classes themselves, known as benefit societies, sick societies, cow clubs, etc., which give aid when work is interrupted by sickness, or which pay funeral expenses in case of a member dying. The advantages of these and the Government institutions are twofold,—they not only ward off destitution by pecuniary help, but they give that help in a way which maintains independence and self-respect. The money received from them, by a sick person, or by an annuitant, is in fact only a repayment of his own previous contributions.

It deserves also to be mentioned, to the credit of the working classes, that almost all the friendly and benefit societies established and maintained by them, recognise and insist on the observance of certain rules to insure the good moral conduct of members. Thus the Coldstream Benefit Society has the following rule:—“No aliment will be allowed during sickness or accident brought on by intoxication, or irregular or immoral conduct; and no member, while receiving sick money, will be permitted to engage in any business or occupation, or be intoxicated with liquor, or be out of his house or lodgings after nine o'clock at night (unless the committee be satisfied of the necessity), under pain of forfeiting his allowance.” This Coldstream society was instituted in 1839.

The Hutton Friendly Society has the following among its rules:—“If a member apply for aliment, and it is found, on inquiry, that his distemper or ailment is the effect of disorderly behaviour and voluntary criminal conduct, he shall not only be denied aliment, but shall pay such a fine as the committee may impose, or be expelled the society. If any member be convicted of theft, or any other flagrant crime or misdemeanour, he shall be expelled the society.”

This Hutton Society is, I believe, the oldest in the county of Berwick, having been instituted in the year 1812. The pay-

ment from its members is 1s. 6d. quarterly, and it has a capital of £900. Many of its members are above seventy years of age. Those who by sickness are thrown out of employment receive 5s. weekly for the first six weeks, and 4s. weekly for the next twenty-six weeks, and 2s. 6d. weekly thereafter, should the sickness continue.

The advantages of these friendly and provident societies to the working classes are immense. They give, in case of sickness, or even of permanent disability, a far more liberal maintenance than is conceded by parochial boards, and this maintenance is obtained without trouble and without degradation.

In these circumstances, every encouragement ought to be given to the establishment of these institutions, and all possible means should be taken to make known to the working classes the benefits they confer. At present, parochial boards have power to apply a portion of their funds to the support of infirmaries, hospitals, and asylums; and in most of the parishes in this county, with which I am connected, a donation of £5 or £10 yearly is given to the Edinburgh Infirmary. I think there should be a similar permission given to support friendly societies and benefit clubs. I see it stated in *Good Words* for 1864 (p. 260), that the late Marquis of Lansdowne, in the year 1861, brought a bill into Parliament—the progress of which, however, was arrested by his illness and death—authorizing poor-law guardians to aid friendly societies by contributing to their funds, even to the extent of one-fourth of the yearly subscriptions of members belonging to the parish. The proposal showed the opinion which a very sagacious statesman entertained of the advantage which would accrue even to the ratepayers by supporting such institutions. Whether this law should be passed or not, about which doubts may be entertained, there is another change requiring to be made which no one can doubt the propriety of, and that is, to prevent ratepayers putting into their own pockets the pensions or annuities payable by these societies to members. The law just now is, that if any person is put on the roll of paupers, being a member of one of these societies, the parochial board must take into account any allowance received from the society, in fixing the aliment to be paid to the pauper. For example, if the circumstances of the pauper were

such as to require an alimant from the parish of 5s. per week, and it was discovered that he was drawing or entitled to draw 2s. 6d. per week from a benefit society, the parochial board could not award more than 2s. 6d. a week out of the funds of the parish. Such a law operates as a discouragement to persons becoming members of such societies, as they see that all their contributions to the funds would, in the event of their becoming paupers, go to benefit, not themselves, but the parochial board.

Considering that this unfavourable law exists, and that the effect of it is so well known among the working classes, it is surprising that there should be so many friendly and benefit societies in Scotland. They would, however, become much more numerous were that law abrogated; and were also the plan I have advocated to be adopted, of substituting for our inspectors of poor intelligent and benevolent almoners, who, besides dispensing relief, could explain the advantages of these institutions, and assist persons to become members of them.

2. The next subject to which I would invite attention is the encouragement which ought to be given to Sabbath schools and Sabbath classes.

The time was when religious instruction not only was given in all elementary schools in Scotland, but occupied a very considerable part of the school work. I am very sorry that a great change has in this respect taken place. In a large proportion of our elementary schools there is no religious instruction now given; and in those wherein it survives, it forms by no means so important a part of the school instruction as it used to be.

In these circumstances, if the young among our working classes are to have any knowledge of religion at all, or to have instilled into their hearts feelings of piety and principles of morality, I see no alternative but to establish Sabbath classes.

It is gratifying to find that there is now a very general feeling throughout the country in favour of Sabbath classes. I learn from official reports, that the numbers of scholars in the Sabbath classes connected with the Established Church, the Free Church, and the United Presbyterian Church were, two or three years ago, in the proportion of one to eleven of the popula-

tion, showing that the numbers are only about one-third less than the scholars who attend the week-day schools.

I am sorry to say that in our own county of Berwick, there are four parishes in which, so far as I can discover, there is no Sabbath class. In the parish of Coldstream the Sabbath classes are well attended, the proportion of scholars being no less than one to seven of the population.<sup>1</sup>

Whilst thus strongly recommending the establishment and support of Sabbath classes, I must notice also the usefulness, though in an inferior degree, of evening week-day classes for young men and young women. In a winter's evening, time hangs heavy when there is little or no household work to young people, as in olden times, to give employment, and especially if the dwelling be small. Young people of both sexes, to avoid the weariness of doing nothing, are under great inducements to go abroad, and may fall into questionable company. An evening class for reading or other simple school instruction, is therefore serviceable, by occupying people in an innocent, if not an improving, occupation, for a couple of hours.

It deserves to be mentioned, to the credit of our county, that evening week-day classes are supported in several districts. At Coldingham-Shore there is one, which during three or four winter months, is attended by sixteen or eighteen fisher lads,—held in a building used also for a day school, which was built by subscriptions among the fishing population. At Eyemouth there is an evening week-day school, held five days in the week during winter, and attended by about fifty lads, chiefly fishermen, who pay 6d. per week to the teacher. In Dunse and in Berwick, there are similar schools. In Paxton village there are two night schools, each held three times a week—one for young women, attended by about twelve scholars, the other attended by about thirty lads. At Milne-Graden, one for young men has been held for the last three winters, attended by the young ploughmen, labourers, and fishermen of that neighbourhood. Two years ago this school was attended by two from one family, father and son, the latter eighteen years old, who lived at a distance of two miles.

One circumstance which adds to the importance of these

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Allison, parochial teacher, gives me this information.

night schools, is the age of the scholars attending them, being the most critical of human life, when, if native genius or talent exists, the seeds ought then to be developed. These night schools for the young people who attend them are hotbeds, to start into vigour any natural abilities they possess. In all communities there are young people of both sexes possessing superior talents, of which they may even themselves be unconscious, and which would produce no results without some such opportunities of development and growth.

3. The next matter to which I would draw attention, as bearing on the wellbeing of the working classes, is the mode in which young women are employed.

In the first place, I fully sympathize with the movement which commenced a short time ago in this county, to abolish the bondage system, by which a grown-up girl is taken from her own home to live in the family of a ploughman, it may be in some distant locality, and work on a farm where she is exposed to the company of strangers. This practice, so long prevalent in Berwickshire and the adjoining counties, seems to me most objectionable; and I think great credit is due to William Fairbairn, shepherd, Bartlehill, who wrote a most excellent essay last year (which was printed), pointing out the many evils resulting from the practice. I hope that no farmer in this county will attempt to continue it, and that, at all events, no parent who has the least regard for the moral welfare of his daughter, will allow her to be hired to go into the family of a stranger to work in that way.

To the practice of employing young women in the fields, if the work is not unsuitable, I have less objection, so long as they are under the parental roof; but the duties of household work, to be performed by them as domestic servants, would be both more expedient and more congenial.

Whilst on this subject, I must advert to the practice of engaging servants without proper inquiry regarding their character and habits. Indeed, it has been alleged that some farmers maintain they are not called on, or even entitled, to pry into these matters. If they can get men or women who can do the work for which they are wanted, and who will perform it faithfully, they say it is no business of theirs to ask about pre-



vious character or conduct. At all events, I fear it is the fact, that in the hiring markets of Dunse, Kelso, Berwick, and other places, many servants, male and female, are engaged, not only for farm work, but even for household service, without inquiry into their antecedents. A more objectionable practice cannot be conceived. One profligate person brought as a servant to a farm or to a house, may, and will, probably, corrupt the whole of the other servants; and I have no doubt that much of the immorality of our county has been spread in this way.

I fear that even among the higher classes there is too much indifference regarding the moral character of persons occasionally brought into their households, the only point attended to being their qualifications for the particular service required of them. How often do we hear of young women engaged as wet nurses, whose previous conduct shows a total absence of moral principle, and who, when they have served the purpose for which they were hired, go home loaded with large fees and presents, which too often are such as to induce a return to the same course of life as before. If these persons happen to have younger sisters, the influence upon them can be anything but beneficial.

4. In a previous part of this address I have advocated the propriety of having in all districts, rural as well as urban, a public officer, whose duty it should be to prevent the occupation of houses unfit for human habitation, and also to prevent overcrowding. But we scarcely perform all that is incumbent on us, if we only punish people for doing what is wrong; we must also, and at the same time, help them, so far as we can, to do what is right. If we cause bad houses to be pulled down, or overcrowded houses to be emptied of a proportion of the inmates, we must also encourage and facilitate the erection of other dwellings in place of these. Though, as I have already remarked, people may live even in a wretched house, and did live in former days, without any departure from virtuous and moral habits, there can be no doubt that dwellings in which there can be no comfort, and in which even the decencies of life can scarcely be observed, are not favourable to the moral wellbeing of either young or old.

On the other hand, one of the best guarantees which a

working man can have for his own good conduct, is a comfortable dwelling-house and a small garden. If a man has inducements to spend his leisure hours with his wife and children, he will be kept from many follies which, if he wanders abroad, even in no other company than his own, he will very probably fall into. But a working man, having a wife and several children, can scarcely find any domestic enjoyment or comfort if his home consists of only one apartment, in which all the household duties have to be performed. He comes there in the evening wearied with work, and perhaps finds his wife at the washing-tub, and the children making an uproar. Having, in these circumstances, not much inclination, even if there was space, to sit down, he naturally adjourns to some other place to seek comfort. The garden may sometimes intercept him, at least in spring or summer, if he has a taste for flowers, or if he knows how to rear vegetables. Occasionally, also, the garden gives useful employment to the children. Indeed, I do not know a pleasanter sight than a family group occupied in this way; and I am sure it has good moral effects. At Eyemouth, many of the fishermen have gardens which are cultivated by them, when not otherwise engaged, assisted by their wives and children. I learn that many of the working classes in this town of Coldstream, in like manner possess gardens, a portion of a field having been rented from the Earl of Home, and divided into forty-seven allotments for that purpose, each about one-twentieth part of an acre in extent. On my asking Mr. Allison, whose school adjoins these allotments, whether he could judge if they were beneficial, otherwise than by giving vegetables to the occupants, his answer was, "Yes; by affording healthy recreation and employment to those engaged in sedentary occupations, *e.g.* tailors, shoemakers, etc.; and many a man is seen in these allotments of an evening, with several of his children assisting him, whereby they are kept off the streets, and get practical lessons useful to them in after life."<sup>1</sup>

I have spoken of the risks arising from insufficient accom-

<sup>1</sup> One of the mechanics' institutes of Worcester, appreciating the benefits, both moral and economical, of gardens for the working classes, rent a large field near the town, which is subdivided into plots, and is parcelled out to members of the institute, at a rent proportioned to the size of the plot.

modation in a dwelling-house to a working man, the father of a family. I need hardly add, that these risks equally apply to the younger members, exposing them to inducements to wander abroad, when they would be safer at home, and depriving them of opportunities of self-improvement; for who will say, that if a dwelling consists of only one apartment, it is possible for any one, young or old, to engage in either reading or writing? Barbara Smith, of Ayton, who wrote that little gem of a book, called *Pearl of Days*, assured me, that had it not been for the second small apartment in her father's cottage, she never could have composed the book, or pursued the studies which led to it, or helped her younger brothers and sisters to prepare their school lessons.

When so many advantages result from there being comfortable and commodious dwellings for the working classes, it is gratifying to see that not only are proprietors generally endeavouring to erect superior cottages on their estates, but that the working classes themselves are now enabled to erect houses, and in the course of time to become the proprietors of them. The co-operative building societies are affording great facilities towards this end, by either building houses out of the society's capital, and then letting or selling them, or by advancing money to a person who is trustworthy, and who wishes to build for himself. In this last case, and assuming that £120 is to be the cost of the house, the society advances that sum, on obtaining security over the ground, and an agreement to pay 2s. 6d. weekly to the society for fourteen years; at the lapse of which period, the loan of £120 is paid off by these weekly instalments, and the party who borrowed that sum becomes absolute owner of the house.

It is at once manifest how strong are the incentives to thrift, industry, and steadiness, which are created by an agreement of this nature.

In Edinburgh, and still more in London, by means of these building societies, dwellings of a superior kind have been erected for the accommodation of the working classes, a large proportion of which dwellings have also been acquired by them in property. Even in our own county, improvements of the same kind are going on; as, for example, in the town of Eyemouth,

where, in the course of little more than twelve months, houses for about twenty fishermen's families have been erected of a superior character, most of them erected by themselves and with their own funds.

5. Whilst it is gratifying to see the numbers of houses of a better class rising up, thereby affording many inducements to the working classes to remain industrious, steady, and intelligent, we must not shut our eyes to the fact, that there is, and will always be, a large proportion of the population who, inhabiting only wretched hovels, have no home enjoyments to restrain and protect them, and who, to compensate for the want of these, will seek enjoyment elsewhere.

Can nothing be done to protect them from the snares and pitfalls which lie in their way when they wander abroad?

About thirty years ago, and until lately, great reliance was placed in the efficacy of mechanics' institutes, and accordingly, by means of large subscriptions, and the encouragement of wise statesmen, many such institutions were formed, especially in the manufacturing districts of the country, both in England and in Scotland.

It was supposed that the lectures—scientific and literary—to be delivered in them, the libraries to be collected, and the classes for instruction to be established, would be so run after by the working and the middle classes, that refined taste and improved habits would become universal, and cause quite a national reformation. Alas! that Utopia of the philanthropist has yet to be realized. See what has happened in Yorkshire to the system of providing popular lectures, which used to prevail in the numerous mechanics' institutes of that large county! There is an influential society there, called the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes, embracing no less than 112 of them, which make annual reports of their proceedings to that central body. From these reports it appears that, whereas formerly, almost every institute had its winter course of lectures, there were last year only fifty-two in which any were given; and in these, on an average, only six lectures in each. The Central Union thus comments on this circumstance:—

“There has been a great falling off in the number of lectures

given during the year,—there being no demand for them. Few institutes can assemble a good audience for a scientific lecturer, however able. It is only light entertainments of a humorous or musical character which attract the general body of the members of institutes. It may be, that information is now so easily attained from the great number of periodicals written in the manner of lectures, and science is so ably popularized in many works, that it is sought for in them instead of at lectures. It also shows that the taste for entertainments merely amusing is growing, to the disadvantage of lectures for instruction."

Now, what are the entertainments which, in these institutes, have become most popular? There is a list given, in most of the reports, of what was done at their fortnightly meetings; and, as a specimen, I will give an abstract of the subjects at the meetings of the Huddersfield Institute, one of the most prosperous. It has no less than 1172 members, of whom 252 are females. During last year there were altogether 34 meetings, of which 18, or more than one half, were musical performances, 12 of these being conducted solely by the singing class of the institute, composed of members. In regard to these meetings, the committee report, that they

"Never failed to attract large attendances, whereby (as the committee believe) many young persons have been preserved from evil associations, by having a Saturday evening resort, for profitable and intellectual amusement."

Let me quote from the report of one other institute, that of Pudsey, containing 180 members:

"Our chess and draught-boards continue to be well used. The penny readings in our town, being so popular, we have only been able to give one *lecture* this season—on 'Shakspeare.' The committee have to thank the public for their appreciation of the two *excursions* during the past year. A handsome surplus was derived from them, notwithstanding severe competition at both trips. During the winter, we have had a series of entertainments, for which purpose a reading class was formed to get up the readings and recitations, and also for the general improvement of the members of the class. The entertainments were well attended, and gave great satisfaction, being interspersed with music and amusements. We also provided tea, charging only sixpence for each person."

These extracts afford evidence that lectures on science,

philosophy, and literature, are not so much appreciated by the working classes of Yorkshire, as entertainments addressed to the senses ; and I suspect that the tastes of the same classes all through the country, do not materially differ.

But do not let me be understood as saying, that the Yorkshire mechanics' institutes serve no other purpose than to provide popular amusements. Though the great majority have ceased to supply lectures, they almost all of them have evening classes, for the instruction of those of their members who desire study. Thus, the Huddersfield Institute has classes on various subjects, and for various ages of students, the total number of whom are no less than 828—128 being females. The Barnoldswick Institute has 40 members, and 12 of them attend evening classes. The Calverley Institute has 74 members, and 30 attend evening classes. The Cottingley Institute has 63 members, and 45 attend evening classes. The Holme Lane Institute has 148 members, and 25 attend evening classes. The Pudsey Institute has 175 members, of whom 80 attend evening classes.

Now, it strikes me that the experience of these Yorkshire institutes deserves the attention of those who, in other parts of the country, are desirous of making arrangements for the benefit of the working classes. It is clear that a very large proportion care not for intellectual food, and prefer something much less refined ; though, no doubt, there are others who have higher views and better tastes.

I think we are bound to regard the requirements of both classes—providing amusement for those who care for little else, and instruction for those so sensible as to wish for it. Some persons may say, that the former are worthless drones, and deserve nothing at our hands. But being drones, they are somewhat expensive to keep. It is for them that the country is taxed to maintain prisons and police ; and we may be certain that they will cost less to the country, by living virtuously in their own dwellings, if we can induce them to do so, than by residing in Greenlaw Jail, or in Perth Penitentiary.

If, therefore, that less intellectual, and most numerous portion of the community, desire to be entertained by music, magic lanterns, electrical or chemical explosions, and other such

sensational spectacles, by all means let these be provided as far as possible. It is better they should obtain amusement in a mechanics' institute, than be driven or induced to seek it in taverns and in worse places.

I believe that a very large proportion of the people who frequent taverns do not go for the purpose of drinking. They go simply to have a chat, obeying that instinct which makes man a gregarious animal. After spending ten weary hours at work, during which he has probably had little opportunity of his own voice, or any other person's, what more natural, than for a labourer or artisan to desire intercourse with his fellow-man? He accordingly, if he lives in a town or village, sallies forth in the evening into the thoroughfare, and plants himself at the most likely spot, generally at a corner or a crossing, where he falls in with others who have come for the very same purpose. But the night is cold, perhaps wet—at all events dark; and hard by there is a public-house with its open door, blazing fire, cheerful lights, and comfortable seats inside, where he will probably find some neighbours or old friends; and why should he not step in there, to talk over the events of the day? The result of such an entanglement we all know.

Now, it is to meet and counteract this temptation, that a working man's club is of such inestimable value; and I am sure that it would be the greatest possible boon to every town and village in the country to have such an institution.

I most heartily congratulate the people of this town that there is in this building an apartment to which any person can resort, where they not only can meet with friends, but have a game at draughts, or chess, or dominoes, besides reading the newspapers; and I was much pleased at being told that sometimes in an evening, there will be as many as thirty or forty mechanics and tradespeople in the room engaged in that harmless way.

I hope, however, that arrangements will be made for frequent meetings in this large and handsome hall, where hundreds may be accommodated, and at which an hour or more may be pleasantly, if not profitably, passed. I wish to say not one word in disparagement of the course of lectures which are intended to be given here this winter; on the contrary, I com-

mend the resolution to have them ; and it is a good sign of the intelligence of the Coldstream community that they are thought capable of appreciating and enjoying lectures. But I hope that the committee, besides providing science and philosophy for the intellectual, will remember how desirable it is to provide, and that they will supply something else for those of less aspiring tendencies.

The taste for music in almost all its forms has now become so universal, and is in itself so well calculated to elevate and refine, that I am sure the managers of this institute would do well to draw more on that pure fountain. Other places in the county have already taken a lead : Dunse has had for two or three years its choral society delighting the townspeople there, with the high-class music of Handel, Mozart, Mendelssohn, Bishop, and Dibdin. Eyemouth has lately formed a similar society, which already contains sixty members, and weekly practisings are going on at both places. Of course no one expects that the pieces sung by these village societies will exhibit the expertness and polish of professional singers ; but many will come to a concert when their own children or their neighbours are among the performers, who would not come to hear a professional. Longfellow, in his song of the village blacksmith, says :—

“ He goes on Sunday to the church,  
 And sits among his boys :  
 He *sees* the parson pray and preach ;  
 He *hears* his daughter’s voice  
 Singing in the village choir,  
 And it makes his heart rejoice.”

It was perhaps to hear *her* voice, and see her so properly employed, that he went to church at all. When the music at these popular meetings, or the readings or recitations, are given by persons belonging to the town whom we know and love, many will attend them from the same motive which took the blacksmith to church.

That there are in Coldstream ample materials within itself of supplying musical entertainments, we must all be satisfied, from the songs we have heard this evening ; and I understand that many of you only last week had an opportunity of listen-



ing to some very good instrumental music. I hope that the ladies who then so kindly assisted may be induced to do so again, influenced by a desire to be fellow-workers with others in a cause so important to the wellbeing of the community.

In all our arrangements for the benefit of the working classes, it appears to me desirable that we should remember how desirable it is that not men merely should benefit, but their wives and children also. The more that the whole family keep together, the better for every member of it, young and old. Nothing strikes me more when on the Continent, than the difference in this respect between the working classes there and in this country. In Germany and France, one hardly ever sees a working man taking a walk on a Sunday afternoon, or in a week-day evening, or visiting places of public resort, unaccompanied, if he is married, by his wife, and one or more children; or if unmarried, by a sister or other female acquaintance. How seldom one sees this in Scotland! Some of our institutions, however, are beginning to do good in this way. For example, the new Industrial Museum of Edinburgh is drawing out the working men of that town to spend an evening looking at the many objects of interest and beauty gathered into that institution. In fact, the most numerous visitors are members of that class, and shopkeepers, as is shown by the numbers who visit during the day and the evening respectively. During the last three months, as Professor Archer informs me, the numbers who have visited the Museum during the day is, on an average, 1800 weekly, and during the evenings 4200 weekly; and in his letter to me he says: "I have personally watched very closely this part of my arrangements, and can assure you that, to a most gratifying extent, I notice the large proportion of men attended by their wives and children." He adds: "Considerable experience in other countries leads me to believe that we are very far behind the rest of the world in providing innocent recreation for the children of toil, and that we consequently give encouragement to many sources of amusement which are injurious, and often vicious."

The inference I draw from the fact mentioned by Professor Archer, of the number of working men who visit his museum accompanied by their wives and children, is, that there is no

indisposition on their part to the practice. They are only prevented by want of opportunity, and for which *they* are not the parties in fault. It lies with others to afford that opportunity; and it is pleasant to see, that when it is afforded, it is made use of.

As a parallel case to the Edinburgh Industrial Museum, I may allude to the Working Men's Exhibition of Art in London, opened last August, and which, though kept open for only ten weeks, was visited by no less than 550,000 people, besides 9000 school children. The report of the managers of this exhibition, as given in the newspapers of 13th November last, bears that, "one of the most pleasing features of the Exhibition was the nightly influx of working men, accompanied by their wives and children."

Of course, in our small town of Coldstream, it is impossible to have either a museum or an art exhibition; but I hope that there may occasionally be meetings of such a nature as will be attractive to women and children, as well as to men, and not without instruction to all. An exhibition, for example, of the magic lantern, to illustrate the architecture of Egypt, or the famed places of the Holy Land, or the alpine scenery of Switzerland, or the climate and character of the Arctic regions, would fill this great hall two or three times in the course of the winter with family groups,—all of whom, old and young, would be both amused and instructed.

Though I have spoken only of wives and children accompanying the working man to places of recreation, I of course mean not to exclude young people of both sexes. On the contrary, I quite approve of the plan followed by some of the Yorkshire mechanics' institutes, of giving to their members, many of whom are females, opportunities of summer excursions, under proper restrictions and regulations. The Dunse Choral Society has an arrangement for the same object. In the course of the summer, an excursion is planned to some distant part of the country, to which, under the guidance of the president of the society, the Rev. Mr. Kerr of the United Presbyterian Church, all the members, male and female, resort. Last summer I think they went to St. Abb's Head. The summer before last they visited Tweedside, and

walked through the grounds of Ladykirk and Milne-Graden. The cost of this summer excursion is borne by the young men of the society ; and, by way of return, the young women, in the course of the winter, give a soiree, attended by the president, at which, after tea, glees are sung and addresses given.

Such social gatherings do much good in promoting a kindly feeling among families, and affording that pleasant and wholesome recreation by which all are benefited.

Whilst on this point of taking means to promote and strengthen friendly social feelings, I cannot refrain from alluding, in terms of commendation, to such institutions as the various kinds of volunteer corps, which bring together, for a common and a useful object, classes of society who too seldom meet. I have, in the outset of this address, alluded to the want of cordiality which often prevails now-a-days between masters and servants—employers and employed. I fear the same remark may be made of the want of cordiality between different classes ; a state of things, for which both parties are probably to blame, in consequence of the erroneous and unjust opinions they form of one another. Many persons in the humbler walks of life view with jealousy, or even spite, those who are more affluent, considering them purse-proud, hard-hearted, and intensely selfish. On the other hand, there are many among the upper classes, who give some ground for these imputations, by the unconcern which they show for their poorer brethren, as well as by their haughty and supercilious bearing.

I believe, however, that such opinions regarding the dispositions of different classes towards one another are generally unfounded, and would be seen to be so, were the two classes to come more frequently into personal intercourse, or were their dispositions and doings better known. Whenever any case of severe and general distress occurs among our working classes, who so ready with pecuniary relief and personal help as the higher classes? When the cotton famine occurred two or three years ago, by which several millions of people were thrown out of employment, what a magnificent array was there not of subscriptions, amounting to sums of £1000 and £500, and mostly from the aristocracy,

the funds being distributed by a committee, of which one of the peers of the realm was chairman! The numerous charitable associations which have been established in all our principal cities, for the benefit of the distressed poor who are found in them, are supported and managed chiefly by the upper classes. Then, again, who was a more zealous patron of all institutions, societies, and schemes, for the wellbeing of the working classes, than the good Prince Albert, representing also in these matters as he did, the wishes and feelings of the Sovereign? On one occasion, when the Prince visited a school in a dense part of London, instituted by a benevolent gentleman for poor children, he addressed the founder of it in these terms:—

“It may be a source of legitimate pride and satisfaction to you, sir, to know, that your noble and Christian exertions to benefit those who cannot help themselves, have attracted the notice and the admiration of your Sovereign, and of those deputed by her to watch over and promote the education and moral welfare of her people. It is a source of high gratification to myself, that I have been enabled, by my presence here, and by that of the Prince of Wales, to mark not only my own appreciation of your labours, but also the deep interest which the Queen takes in the wellbeing of the poorest of her subjects.”

Read also the various speeches which the same great and good Prince delivered at the public meetings of the Servants' Provident Society, and the Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes. They overflow with sentiments and maxims, alike cordial and sagacious, which we would ourselves all do well, even in the humblest walks of life, to remember and act upon. At one of these meetings he used these memorable words:—

“Depend upon it, the interests of classes, too often contrasted, are identical. It is only ignorance of one another, which prevents them uniting for each other's advantage. To dispel that ignorance, to show how man can help man, notwithstanding the complicated state of civil society, ought to be the aim of every philanthropic person; and it is more particularly the duty of those who, under the blessing of Divine Providence, enjoy station, wealth, and education.”

The practical lesson which we ought to draw from these counsels and maxims—and it is one which I have often seen

verified—is this, that the upper and lower classes of society have only to meet more frequently, in order to dispel many unjust suspicions and prejudicial opinions they entertain of one another. We all know how apt we are to fall into mistakes, when we judge of another, as we generally have to do, by outward appearances, and from a distant point; whilst a close inspection, and more intimate knowledge of the individual, leads to very different conclusions.

A story is told of Robert Burns, that, when one day walking down to Leith, in company with a young Edinburgh blood, he met a working man wearing shabby clothes, and presenting altogether a most ungainly appearance. Burns, to the astonishment of his companion, greeted this man as an acquaintance, and shaking hands with him, stopped a few minutes to talk with him. When Burns came up to his friend, who had walked on slowly before, the latter taunted him with being so familiar with a man in such mean apparel. “You fantastic gomerall,” exclaimed Burns, “it was not the coat and trousers I spoke to, but the *man* that was in them; and that man, sir, for true worth, would weigh down you and me, and ten more such, any day.”

As illustrating the same subject, I may relate an instructive little parable mentioned, I think, in *Self-Help*. “A traveller in Wales was walking among the hills one misty morning, when he saw something moving on the mountain side, so strange looking, that he took it for a *monster*. When it approached nearer, he discovered it was a *man*. When it came close to him, he saw it was his *brother*.”

So it is in human society. In the intercourse of life, we sometimes fall in with persons who, seen at a distance, and viewed through the mists of prejudice—prejudice of class or party—we deem heartless wretches, or ignorant brutes,—monsters in human shape; but on coming nearer to them, we discern the real features of their character, and find that they possess feelings, motives, and intelligence which deserve our esteem and confidence.

Remembering, then, our liability to commit such mistakes, and remembering also that we are all of us, to whatever class we belong, members of one great community, one national

family, let us ever be careful to cherish mutual forbearance, and be ready to acknowledge worth and honesty, whether in the halls of the peer or in the cottage of the labourer. Then would be realized the sentiments expressed in the following lines, with which I conclude my address:—

You're *poor*, and yet you do not scorn  
 Or hate the wealthy for their wealth ;  
 You toil contented, night and morn,  
 And prize the gifts of strength and health :  
 You'd share your little with a friend,  
 And what you cannot *give* you'll *lend* ;  
 You take humanity on trust,  
 And see some merit in another :  
 Give me your hand—you shall, you must ;  
     I love you as a brother.

You're *rich*, and yet you are not proud ;  
 You are not selfish, hard, or vain ;  
 You look upon the common crowd  
 With sympathy, and not disdain :  
 You'd travel far to share your gold  
 With humble sorrow unconsol'd ;  
 You'd raise the orphan from the dust,  
 And help the sad and widowed mother :  
 Give me your hand—you shall, you must ;  
     I love you as a brother.

## A P P E N D I X.

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### NOTE A.—Page 10.

IN a ms. diary of the late George Home of Paxton, written about the year 1808, I find the following remarks, which, coming from a person of great intelligence and observation, are deserving of notice.

Adverting to the opinion then commonly prevailing, that the diminution of ague in Berwickshire was to be attributed to the drainage of the land, he observes that this opinion “is by no means well founded. About sixty or eighty years ago, the ague was as frequent in the dry and gravelly soil in the eastern part of East Lothian, where there was neither pool nor bog, as it was in the lower part of Berwickshire. It is now seldom to be met with in either of these counties. May it not as probably arise from this—that the people are better fed, better clothed, and more industrious, than what they were half a century ago? There may likewise be other causes which do not fall so readily under our senses. I have heard that the ague is less frequent than formerly, both in Flanders and in the fenny counties of England. The people there are not better fed nor better clothed than they were sixty or eighty years ago, so that it is not by reason of these particulars that ague has there diminished.”

### NOTE B.—Page 14.

I observed from the London papers of 29th January last, that the Harveian Society had sent a deputation to the Home Secretary to call his attention to the increasing frequency of infanticide. They gave statistics to show that in London the mortality of legitimate children under a year old is at the rate of from 20 to 24 per cent. ; of illegitimate children, from 70 to 75 per cent.

The deputation urged several amendments of the law—viz. :

1st, To make the punishment of infanticide more severe and certain.

- 2d, To entitle the overseers of the poor to take charge of illegitimate children, should the mother wish to give up charge of them, for a certain period of infancy.
- 3d, To authorize more stringent measures against the father, so as to increase the burden of maintenance on him, and lessen it on the mother.

## NOTE C.—Page 14.

## I.—PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS TO TOTAL BIRTHS.

	Average of Three Years ending			Year 1866.
	1860.	1863.	1866.	
All Scotland, . . . . .	8·9	9·5	9·9	10·0
Lanark county, . . . . .	7·1	8·2	8·7	8·9
Fife „ . . . . .	7·1	6·9	8·6	8·5
Linlithgow „ . . . . .	7·4	6·9	9·5	10·7
Edinburgh „ . . . . .	8·3	9·1	9·2	9·3
Haddington „ . . . . .	8·2	8·9	9·9	10·1
Peebles „ . . . . .	10·6	9·9	11·3	16·7
Selkirk „ . . . . .	9·2	9·9	9·9	11·0
Roxburgh „ . . . . .	10·7	12·2	11·5	12·6
Berwick <sup>1</sup> „ . . . . .	9·3	10·8	12·6	17·2
Coldstream Parish, . . . . .			16·2	25·8
Eyemouth <sup>2</sup> „ . . . . .			3·7	6·7

<sup>1</sup> Berwick now shows a higher percentage than any other county in Great Britain and Ireland. The county next in order is Wigtown, which is 17·0 per cent.

<sup>2</sup> The average births in Eyemouth during the last three years is annually 95.

## II.—PROPORTION OF MARRIAGES TO POPULATION (referred to on p. 33).

	Number of Marriages on Average of Two Years ending 1866.		
	Population.	Marriages.	Proportion of Marriages.
Scotland, . . . . .	3,062,294	23603	1 marriage to 129 persons.
Lanark, . . . . .	648,444	6284	1 „ „ 101 „
Fife, . . . . .	155,021	1136	1 „ „ 136 „
Linlithgow, . . . . .	39,045	309	1 „ „ 126 „
Edinburgh, . . . . .	274,093	2666	1 „ „ 103 „
Haddington, . . . . .	37,626	220	1 „ „ 170 „
Peebles, . . . . .	11,300	66	1 „ „ 170 „
Selkirk, . . . . .	10,410	81	1 „ „ 128 „
Roxburgh, . . . . .	53,722	342	1 „ „ 157 „
Berwick, . . . . .	36,488	199	1 „ „ 183 „
Coldstream, . . . . .	2,823	14	1 „ „ 200 „
Eyemouth, . . . . .	1,804	13	1 „ „ 138 „
Wigtown, . . . . .	42,095	210	1 „ „ 200 „



## NOTE D.—Page 17.

If the vice of drunkenness still abounds, and is even increasing in Scotland, matters do not seem any better in England. In a report read to the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1865, drawn up from materials supplied by the police, it is stated that “there are about 10,000 drinking shops in London, and it would be a very moderate estimate that would assign to each, on every Saturday night, twenty persons in different stages of intoxication. Supposing these were the same persons every Saturday night (though often they are not the same), it follows that there are 200,000 individuals, mostly of middle age, in the metropolis alone, who periodically subject themselves to the vice of intoxication,—a number equal to 13 per cent. of the adult population, or one in every eight persons.” The report continues: “How this result can be materially altered, while the licensed temptations to drinking remain as numerous as they are, the moralist and statesman may well despair of discovering.”

## NOTE E.—Page 21.

## I.—PERCENTAGES OF PERSONS IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND WHO SIGNED MARRIAGE REGISTERS ONLY BY MARK, DECLARING THEMSELVES UNABLE TO WRITE.

	Men.	Women.
All <i>Scotland</i> (1863), . . . . .	10·86	22·10
Northern Division, . . . . .	5·12	17·54
North-western Division, . . . . .	33·44	43·12
North-eastern Division, . . . . .	2·50	9·59
East Midland Division, . . . . .	6·54	7·43
West Midland Division, . . . . .	15·11	23·70
South-western Division, . . . . .	15·43	31·41
South-eastern Division, . . . . .	5·78	11·83
Southern Division, . . . . .	5·06	7·19
Berwickshire, . . . . .	1·53	3·59
All <i>England</i> (1864), . . . . .	13·3	32·4
Bedford, . . . . .	36·9	45·0
Cornwall, . . . . .	31·1	40·0
Stafford, . . . . .	38·4	48·0
Laneashire, . . . . .	24·5	47·0
West Riding, . . . . .	23·1	43·0
Durham, . . . . .	24·2	38·0
Monmouthshire, . . . . .	41·9	52·0
North Wales, . . . . .	34·9	49·0
South Wales, . . . . .	37·2	56·0

## NOTE F.—Page 24.

## EXTRACTS FROM RECORDS OF CHURCH COURTS.

1. *Parish of Bunkle Kirk-session Records.*

17 Dec. 1682.—Christopher Sligh was dilated for prophaning the Sabbath by *unnecessary travel*, and to be summoned here against the next day.

24 Dec. 1682.—This day Christopher Sligh being called, compeared, and with tears confessed his guiltiness in prophaning the Sabbath. The minister and elders, seeing him very much affected with his guilt, appoint him to pay 12/ Scots for the poor, and to satisfy for the scandal, before the session.

19 Sept. 1686.—This day John Foreman and Janet Craig in Lintlaws were dilated, for gathering *pease* on the Sabbath-day. They were appointed to compear next Lord's day.

26 Sept. 1686.—John Foreman and Janet Craig, being called, compeared, and professed their sorrow for their breach of the Sabbath. They were dismiss, before session, being but young.

8 July 1688.—Robert Temple (*adulterer*), now in the parish of Edrom, was enjoined to stand at the west door of the church in sackcloth, having his head discovered, until the minister come in, and then to go in sackcloth to the place of public repentance.

5 August 1688.—Bessy Wilson (*adulteress*) was enjoined to stand at the west door of the church in sackcloth, from the reader's going into the church to read, till the minister came in, and then to go to the place of public repentance in sackcloth.

2. *Extracts from the Coldingham Kirk-session Records.*

4 July 1697.—The first admonition to Sir Alexander Home of Renton. He was advertised from the pulpit this day, that the presbytery is to sit at Dunse on Tuesday next, and certified that if he do not submit to the judicatory, and purge himself by oath, or take with the guilt of the *crime laid to his charge*, the presbytery will proceed to the sentence. The congregation was again *exhorted* to *pray* for this man, that repentance unto life may be given unto him.

12 Sept. 1697.—This day was the second admonition given out of the pulpit to Sir Alexander Home of Renton, in order to *excommunication*.

5 Oct. 1704.—A scandal being related last dyet, the offence exceeding great, circumstances of time, place, persons, and actings considered, order was given to the elders in West Renton to endea-

your to gett the delinquents to see the evil of such courses. "The session considering the profane riot being committed *in drunkenness on the Sabbath morning*, when it was dark night, and that it was not in an alehouse, but elsewhere, that they were *fulled*, and that the persons are otherwise scandalous, it was recommended to the minister to deal with them, or with those that have authority over them, and to report."

2 Dec. 1705.—The said day, did Nicolas Inglis appear in the ordinary seat for f——n, and was publicly rebuked for the sin, according to her confession before the session above recorded, with Sir Robert Home of Renton.

13 Jan. 1706.—The said day, did Nicolas Inglis appear for the third time before the congregation for the sin and scandal of f——n, as is above confessed; and the said sin being spoken to, and she having humbled herself *upon her knees*, and prayed, was dismissed in common form.

### 3. *Extracts from Kinghorn Kirk-session Records.*

5 Sept. 1608.—Comperit Robert Orrok quha was convict of being *absent fra the preaching thrie sevrall Sabbathis*, and that in hie and manifest contempt of his pastour; therefor refris him to be punischit be the council magistrat conform to the act of His Hienes Parliment.

4 Decembris 1608.—The qlk day delattit (be John Stainhows) Wa<sup>r</sup>. Stokis, Alex<sup>dr</sup>. Stokis, David Fermour, Thos. Craig, quha war playing *at ye goulf* upon the Sabbothe day; also the said John delattit James Smert, James Fermour, and others, for *bearing (sea) ware* upon the Sabbothe day.

16 July 1609.—The qlk day M<sup>r</sup>garet Key being w<sup>r</sup>nit and callit comperit quha was ordanit for being absent fra the kirk *selling meat and drink*, to pay 32d.

23 Feb. 1623.—Comperit Johne Blak, quha was rebukit for breking the Sabbothe by *sowing* thereon, and for suffering his *barne to go so unworthily* throu the town, as he dois, wlk he p<sup>r</sup>misit to amend.

24 August 1623.—Comperit William Allan, quha confessit his brek of the Sabbathe, and abusing of his wife upon the same, q<sup>r</sup>foir he was ordanit to be layd 24 houris in the stockis, and q<sup>r</sup>after to stand twa houris in the jougis upon ane m<sup>r</sup>cat day.

16 May 1624.—William Kirkcaldie in Grange Mylne and Thomas Gray being warnit *pro tertio*, Thomas comperit quha was ordanit to satisfie for having his *mylne going* upo the Sabbath about seven hours in the morning, be paying the penaltie of 6/8—at q<sup>h</sup> time the said Thomas alleadgit that his M<sup>r</sup> knew y<sup>t</sup> scho was going, and that be his directioun;—q<sup>r</sup>foir it is ordanit that his M<sup>r</sup> be dealt w<sup>t</sup>, q<sup>r</sup>by he may be mowit to compeir beffoir the session this day aucht dayis.

25 Sept. 1625.—Janet Watson and Isabell Colzear w<sup>r</sup>nit, comperit quha war ordanit to pay every ane of them 32<sup>d</sup> for being *gaddering sand eills* upon the Sabbath in the morning.

12 Sept. 1630.—Thomas Watson w<sup>r</sup>nit and callit, comperit, quha was rebukit for *mending schoone* upo the Sabbath, qlk he confessit and was exhortit to amend, qlk he p<sup>r</sup>mittet to do.

25 Feb. 1640.—Comperit Margaret Broun quha was ordanit to enter to hir repentance the next Sabbath, and to sit upon the pyllar for the space of 26 Sabbaths, and to stand at the kirk door the hail tyme betwixt the second and third bells in sackcloth, and the hyndmost thrie Sabbaths to be bairfootit.

4. *Extracts from the Registers of the Synod of Aberdeen*  
(Spalding Club, 1846).

21 April 1657.—Anent the profanation of thie Sabbath by *salmond fishing* on Dye and Done, it is found that the same is in some measer restrayned, butt not fullie, for which cause the Presbyterie of Aberdeen is ordayned to use thie discipline of thie church agaynst transgressors, and to deall effectuallie with the justiciaries of peace, for curbing the same by ther authority (page 234).

5. *Extracts from the Registers of the Presbytery of Aberdeen.*

18 July 1606.—The said day, the hail *millers* within the parochine (Bellhelvy) being summonit, compearit, and be thir presents, actit themselves particularlie, according to the actis of the kirk, to absteine from millinge, grindage, or scheillinge on the Sabbath day in tymes comminge; and failzeing heirintill, all are content *toties quoties* they offend, or ony ane of them, to pay off penalty, the sowme of ten poundis money to the thesaurer off the kirk, to be applyit *ad pios usus*. And in caise any off the saidis milleris beis fund to have receate and to have ground on the Sabbath the stuff or cornis sukmit or thrallit to ane uthir milne, than and in that caise, the saidis milleris ar content to dubill the said penaltie (page 199).

16 July 1602.—That the Erle Marschaell be desyrit that his Lordship caus nocht his tenentis *to raiss or transporte any careage* on the Sabbath. In the meantyme, the violatouris of the Sabbath to pay 20s. and mak repentance, at the discretione of the Sessione (page 189).

23 July 1602.—It is concludit, quha beis absent heirafter, or violatis the Sabbath be *fischeing or schering, wyunning and leding of cornes or peittis*, or other sicklik labour, being convictit, to be poindit, according to the Act of Parliament; and gif they be fund 3 Sundays absent (except they be seik or off cuntrey) in the year, to be excommunicat *ipso facto* (page 189).

6. *Extracts from the Kirk-session Records of Aberdeen.*

28 Nov. 1602.—The said day, the wyff of James Banerman, for *working* on the Sabboth day unlawit in sex sh. aueht d.

The samen day, the Sessione ordainis that na *Baxters* within this Burt, work nor baik any bakin meatt in tyme cuming on the Sabboth day.

5 Dec. 1602.—Ordanis Jonett Scherar, quha was baneshit obefoir for —, and is eum in agane within this Burt, but license, and sen hir incumming, hes fallin of new agane, to be apprehendit, and put in the kirk vault, and thairafter to be doukit at the cran, and publielie baneist of new againe at the mercat eroce;—provyding, gif she pay ten merkis of penaltie, to be fre of hir douking (page 24).

19 Dec. 1602.—Gilbert Keyth, sone to the Erll Merschall, confessit the committing of — with Jelis Cadenhead;—his penaltie modefeit to ten pundis, and to mak repentanee at his nixt incumming to this towne (page 24).

11 Sept. 1608.—Gilbert Mayne and Johne Nicolsoun, in Fultie, being delatit and accusit of *leading of cornis* this day, being the Lordis Saboth, grantit the same, and were admoneist not to do the lyk in tyme cumming, under all hiest payne that the kirk and Session may inflict upon them (page 63).

15 Oct. 1635.—Compeirit William Kinnear and confest his *traveling* on the Sabbath day, which he declairit was out of meer necessity, having two watters to croce, and ane tempestuous day, quhilk moowit him to fear that he wold not get the watters crost, and so his credit might faill. He was sharpely admonished; and promist never to doe the lyke again (page 136).

21 Sept. 1657.—Compeirit Hendrie Dempster, and being aeeusit for *drying of ane plaidene wob* upone the Broadhill upone Sunday in tyme of sermone, confest the wob was laid out to be drycd, but that the same was done (not?) by his knowledge. He is continued to the next day, and appointed to bring his wife, and womane, with him the next day (page 143).

7. *Extracts from Registers of Synod of Fife (Abbotsford Club, 1837).*

20 August 1611.—It being reported that this last Sabboth, certane persons wer *sheiving their cornes*, it is ordained that tryall be taken quho thei wer, and that thei be contermit befor the sessione the next Saboth, and punished aecording to the ordour (page 31).

2 Aprile 1650.—That everic parochie be divydit into severall quarteris, and each elder his owne quarter, over which he is to have speciall inspeetion, and that everie elder visit his quarter once everie month at least, aecording to the Aet of the General Assemblie 1649,

and in their visitatioun, tak notice of all disorderlie walkeris, espeeci-  
allie negleetoris of God's worship in thair families, sweareris, haun-  
teris of aill houses, especiallie at unseasonable tymes, and long sitteris  
thair, and drinkeris of healthes; and that he dilate these to the  
session.

That the Aet of the Provinceall Assemblies concerning drunken-  
ness, swearing, etc., be revived, and againe publiely read in churches,  
togidder with the late Act of Parliament against drunkenness.

That selleris of aill to these quho are drunk or unsensible, and  
excessive in drinking, sall fall under the same censure with the  
drinkeris (page 169).

NOTE FF.—Page 62.

In further exposition of the French system of supporting the poor,  
I give the following extracts from the "Instructions" issued by the  
Minister of the Interior to the provincial "prefôts," for the guidance  
of the bureaux de bienfaisance:—

"Ce n'est qu'avec la plus grande raison que les administrations  
charitables doivent admettre (dans les hospices) des vieillards valides,  
et je ne hésite pas à dire, que le trop grande faeilite dans les admis-  
sions de se genre, est un des causes les plus ordinaires des embarras  
qu'epreuvent les administrations hospitalières." . . . "Mais ce n'est  
par sous la rapport financière que j'appelle toute votre attention sur  
cet objet, Mon. le Prefôt, et que je vous invite à l'indiquer aux medi-  
tations des commissions administratives. Une question de morale  
publique s'y rattache aussi. La verité de cette assertion se prouve  
facilement par le desir, par l'insistance même avec laquelle les enfants  
cherchent à faire entrer leurs vieux parents dans les hospices." . . .  
"L'experience tend de plus en plus à prouver qu'une charité trop  
empressee à l'égard de certains indigents, detruit les sentimens de  
famille. Ce resultat à été malheureusement observé en ce qui con-  
serve les hospices de vieillards, et il doit appeler les reflexions des  
administrations charitables." (Circular, 31st January 1840.)

"S'il est une maniere d'exercer la charité, soit à la fois utile à eux  
qui en sont l'objet, honorable pour eux qui la dependent, et favorable  
à la morale, c'est assurément eelle qui consiste à recevoir, dans les  
maisons bien tenus, des vieillards valides ou infirmes, moyennant des  
prix de *pensions*, réglés d'après les depenses presumées de leur entre-  
tien. Ces *pensions* doivent être assez modiques pour que les fortunes  
les plus modestes puissent les payer, sans pourtant que l'hospice y  
perde. Les economies produites par la vie commune, doivent con-  
duire à cet resultat." (Ditto.)

“ C'est alors que disparaissent les effets facheux que je deplorais en parlant des admissions gratuites de vieillards indigents. L'age de 70 ans est celui qui est ordinairement fixé pour les admissions dans les hospices. Mais il faut bien prendre garde, que les admissions faites seulement à cause de l'age, ne surchargent les hospices. Il faut en outre considerer, qu'il est beaucoup plus convenable que les vieillards malades soient secourus par les bureaux de bienfaisance. Ce mode est aussi plus honorable pour les indigents.” (Ditto.)

“ Les hospices ne doivent pas admettre les enfants de familles indigentes. Les bureaux de bienfaisance doivent les secourir.

“ Vous savez que dans le systême actuel de notre legislation, il est deux modes principaux pour la distribution aux indigents des secours publics. Des hôpitaux et des hospices recoivent et traitent gratuitement les pauvres, que la maladie, la viellesse, ou les infirmités empêchent de subvenir à leurs besoins par le travail. Des bureaux de bienfaisance distribuent à domicile des secours, à ceux que les mêmes causes, ou le defaut momentarie d'ouvrage, ou enfin leur extrême misere mettent dans l'impossibilité de vivre.” (Ditto.)

“ On ne peut meconnaitre l'immense utilité des hôpitaux et des hospices.” . . . . “ Mais, d'autre part, l'experience tend chaque jour à démontrer, que le systême des hospices relache, s'il ne detruit pas, les liens de la famille. Il dishabitude les enfants du devoir naturel de nourrir et de soigner leurs parents vieux ou infirmes. Ces derniers euxmêmes dans la pensée d'enlever une charge à leurs enfants, finissent par considérer l'hospice comme un asile où il est naturel d'aller terminer ses jours ; et souvent même avant l'age, l'individu apte encore au travail, simule ou exagère des infirmités pour obtenir son admission.” (Circular, 5th August 1840.)

“ Il doit être l'objet de serieuses meditations d'examiner s'il ne conviendra pas d'arrêter la progression croissante du nombre d'individus admis dans les hospices, et de favoriser au contraire le developpement d'un systême de secours à domicile qui, en laissant le pauvre au sein même de la famille qui lui doit des soins, ressererait les liens naturels ; et en excitant la prévoyance des pères et des enfants, contribuerait à restreindre le nombre des demandes d'admissions aux secours publics.” (Circular, 6th August 1840.)

NOTE G.—Page 62.

In confirmation of this statement, I first refer to the following evidence before the Select Parliamentary Committee on Poor Relief, 1861 :—

“ There are two classes of poor in London ; one coming under the

notice of ministers of religion and district visitors; the other, who apply to the boards of guardians. The first class are equal to, if not more numerous than, the second class. I have made inquiries among the clergy, and have not met with one who has not distinctly stated, that the number of poor is quite as great of those who do not apply, as of those who do apply, or come under the notice of the parochial authorities."

I next refer to a book lately published by Mr. Sampson Low, which enumerates the various charitable societies in London, and states the total amount raised by them for the poor. For the year 1866, the total incomes of these societies were £1,979,711; whilst the "total poor-rates expended (in 1857, which is a fair average) for one year in the metropolitan district amounted to £1,425,063." Mr. Sampson Low adds (page 86), that the "average number of paupers of all classes relieved in and out of the workhouses was 96,752; there being in the workhouses, 28,734, and out of the workhouses, 68,018."

NOTE H.—Page 64.

(*First Letter.*)

“REGENT’S PARK BARRACKS.

“I send to you, according to your request, reports of two or three out-door relief London charities. The two with which I am connected are the ‘Society for Relief of Distress,’ and the ‘Society for relieving distressed Widows,’ to both of which I was introduced by Lord Charles Bruce, who is in the 1st Life Guards. I also send the report of a ragged school, which my friend Q. H. has been the principal means of establishing. The more London has of such schools the better. It is almost hopeless to try and reform grown-up people, who have been accustomed all their lives to vice, ignorance, and filth; but there is some chance of bringing the children into shape.

“To revert to the subject you particularly wish to know about, I may explain, that the way I set about my business as an almoner is this: When the regiment is in London during the winter, I go to the district once or twice a week, obtain from the clergymen, scripture readers, or city missionaries, the names and addresses of people requiring or soliciting relief; and I also find them out through respectable tradesmen in the district. As far as I can, I visit each case mentioned to me—ascertain the cause of distress—the number in the family,—ask if any parochial relief has been given; in short, learn all I can about the case,—jot down particulars in a note-book, and leave, as I deem necessary, one or more tickets on the tradesmen I deal with in the neighbourhood. A specimen of these printed tickets



I enclose. The relief in kind, according to the discretion of the almoner, allowed by the society, consists of groceries, bread, meat, and coals. In some special cases, a small sum of money may be more useful than a ticket, *e.g.* where a man has been laid off work through illness, and been obliged to pawn his tools for his rent, or food, etc. I can get them out of pawn, to enable him to return to his work.

“Of course *all* the almoners are unpaid amateurs, and of a respectable class (officers, lawyers, merchants, etc.), whom the society can trust with the impartial and careful distribution of its funds. In very large districts, such as Bethnal Green, Lambeth, etc., the almoner seeks out a number of resident sub-almoners, to whom he allots parts of the district, and entrusts part of the funds which he has received, and who account to him at fixed periods for these funds. I have often wished I could find some sub-almoners resident in Charterhouse (which is my district), but I cannot. However, I manage to do a good deal, by giving a certain amount of *carte blanche* to the curates of the parish, when I am unable personally to visit, whom I can trust as liberal and impartial men, to relieve all alike, whether they are churchmen, infidels, Turks, or heretics. I am in with the parish doctor too; for, when I find a case of sickness not visited by any medico, I write to him; and if he wants food for a case of convalescence, he writes to me.

“I don’t think I need further trouble you about my small performances in the almoner line. I may add that my society allows me, on special application, to give blankets; and it also helps a public soup kitchen in winter.

“I quite agree with you in your preference for out-door relief, instead of large poorhouses; and I am sure the poor agree with us, as I know well, they have a horror for ‘the house.’ If out-door relief can be properly administered, it keeps up amongst the working classes their homes, and their attachment to them—both of which a work-house destroys; besides which, the machinery is so expensive.

“Why should not our elders in Scotland, of all denominations, be made of more use in the parish, by having districts apportioned to them, and some of the poor’s money entrusted to them, to be administered, as we do here, by tickets or otherwise?

“I must be off now to my stables. The Life Guards left us this morning—a grilling day they have for their march.”

(*Second Letter.*)

“Your first inquiry is, how we come to the knowledge of any one wanting relief?

“My society has an office in King Street, St. James’, where there is

daily attendance all the winter till May, and sometimes later, from ten to four o'clock. One of the honorary secretaries is there part of the day, and a paid clerk all the day, to transact office work, and receive reports, or applications from almoners or poor people. Should any person know of a case of distress in any part of London, where the society has an almoner, a letter may be sent to the honorary secretary at the office, mentioning it. The society's almoner for the district will be directed to inquire; or, without going through the office, the almoner may at once be communicated with.

"In my own district, viz. Charterhouse, there is daily attendance of some one connected with the society, at St. Thomas' schools, where the many poor of that neighbourhood know they have only to apply. Whenever they apply, the name, address, and cause of application are entered in a book. The case is then immediately inquired into; and if the applicant is deserving, relief in some form or other is given as soon as possible. When I go over there, I generally get some of these cases to inquire into. If I give blank cheques to the curates, or other trustworthy persons, the tallies in their books (*i.e.* the first half of every leaf) tell me whom they have relieved, and thus prevent me relieving the same person. When I have been a round myself, I leave a list at the schools of those I have relieved.

"There are always people ready enough to apply, and put their names down for relief—too many of whom are quite undeserving; and the difficulty lies in discriminating between the deserving and the undeserving.

"But there is in almost every district another class, and these are the most deserving, who seldom make any formal application for relief, some of whom would even starve rather than apply, who are yet thankful enough for it when help comes. I have seen many of these cases in my own experience, last winter especially, during our first frost, when sickness and distress were so general. These poor people are not easily found out; but they are generally heard of through the clergymen of one denomination or another, as they discover them, when visiting from house to house. Whenever I hear of such cases, I am glad to make inquiry; and, if relief is necessary, supply it at once. If I can't go myself, I send a ticket through the post.

"Your second inquiry about the social position of our almoners, I can best answer by sending to you a printed list of their names and addresses. You will see from it that the number is altogether, at present, 105; and you may judge both from the addresses given, and from the expensive streets in which they reside, that they almost all belong to the higher classes.

"I should think an association of this kind could, with no great difficulty, be formed in Edinburgh. There are lots of advocates,

writers, bankers, merchants, and idle ladies and gentlemen, who could find time—and it does not take much—to do the work. Two hours' visiting twice a week will do a great deal, with proper arrangements; especially where, as in Edinburgh, the distances for the almoners to take charge of are not so far off as in London."

(The list of almoners gives the names and residences of eleven ladies, four honourables, fourteen officers in the army and navy (two being generals), one baronet, six barristers, and two reverends. The addresses of the remainder are not so distinct as to indicate to what profession or class they belong.)

NOTE K.—Page 69.

Whilst this address is being printed, I see in the debates of Parliament, strong confirmation and illustration of my remarks, regarding the employment of young children in agricultural labour. The House of Commons has unanimously (2d April 1867) adopted the following resolution: "That, in the opinion of this House, the employment of women and children in agriculture should be regulated, so far as may be, by the principles of the Factory Acts."

This resolution was come to after consideration of a Report by Royal Commissioners on the Employment of Children,—a report which gives most distressing accounts of the extent to which children of school age are employed in field work, and of the immoral consequences not only to them, but to their older companions. Mr. Dent, in his speech introducing the resolution, which was adopted, referred to what had been proved before the Commissioners, that "in six or seven English counties what is called the gang system of field work prevails, by which a contractor engages with a farmer to carry on some agricultural operations, as weeding, setting potatoes, gathering stones, singling turnips, etc.; and he brings large parties of children, besides male and female adults. It was ascertained, that out of 6400 persons in these gangs, 1636 were children under the age of 13 (871 boys and 765 girls); between 13 and 18 years of age, there were 386 boys and 536 girls; and above 18, there were 70 lads and 388 young women. Mr. White found 20 children under the age of 7, and some even as young as 5 or 6. Boys and girls of this tender age went 5 or 6 miles to their work, and the same distance back. A case was given, in which two girls, aged respectively 11 and 13 years, had to walk 8 miles each day to their work, so that they walked 16 miles, besides working from 8 A.M. to 5 or half-past 5 in the afternoon. As to wages in Suffolk, the children began with 2d. or 3d. per day; and of two children in a gang, the mother said, 'Agnes was seven when she

began, and got 2d. per day; Frank was six, and got 1½d.; he has been heightened ½d. each year since.' It would be seen from the reports of medical men on the subject, that the death-rate among the children who were thus engaged in agricultural labour was very high, as well as among the infants of the adult females who were similarly employed. The medical officer of the Privy Council described these gangs as travelling several miles from their native villages, looking strong, but with the taint upon them of their customary immorality. It was not the loss of life only which was to be deplored, but the hardened feeling which the operation of the system produced in the women, making them completely reckless, and giving rise to a terrible brutality. The results to their morals were most prejudicial, as were shown by the evidence of the women themselves, as well as that of those by whom they were engaged. The first effect of the system was to give the women a hard, bold appearance and a rude manner, and to unfit them to make good wives or mothers, inasmuch as they were never trained to domestic habits. He should be glad if the House would adopt the principle, that no young female under the age of 17 should be employed in these gangs. Indeed, he should like to see a prohibition against any employment of women in public gangs; but he did not think that such a restriction could be carried out."

I have given these extracts from Mr. Dent's speech, because the facts stated by him, in regard to these agricultural gangs, though much worse I hope than anything in Scotch counties, indicate too surely the results which will be arrived at even in Scotland, if we do not take care. There is a general complaint on the part of schoolmasters, that during the summer months nearly half of the children who ought to be at school are engaged in field work, earning wages. Moreover, do we not see in our own and in adjoining counties, how much more generally young women are now employed in all the farm operations, some of them most unsuitable, such as turning dung-heaps, spreading by the hand, soot or guano, driving horses in carts, etc.? One of the consequences of this field work noticed by Mr. Dent, viz. "the hard, bold appearance and rude manners" of the young women, is a feature of the sex which is now already becoming painfully visible in our own county. Though the "agricultural gang" as it exists in many English counties is as yet unknown among us, I see near approximations to it on some farms near Berwick, where parties of workers, chiefly female, many of them very young, are employed in parties of 15 and 20, who come out from the town of Berwick every morning, partly in carts, partly on foot, spending the day in the fields, and returning home at night. Judging by the shabbiness of their clothes, the coarseness of their looks, and the boldness of their demeanour when met on the public road, I infer that they belong to

the very poorest class of people in the town, and that they are of very questionable character.

NOTE L.—Page 70.

Mr. Murray Dunlop (*Parochial Law*, p. 488) gives the following extracts from the session records of a parish in Fife:—"Oct. 1596. The session thinks meet that all the yowth in the toun be caused com to the schooll to be teached, and that sic as are puir shall be furnished upon the comone expenses; and gif ony puir refuisis to com to school, help of sic thing as they neid and requir shall be refused to them. And as for sic as are able to susteine thair bairnes at the schooll, and do their dewtie to the teacher for them, they sall be commandit to put them to the schooll, that they may be brocht up in the feir of God and vertue. Quhilk if they refuse to do, they sall be callit before the session and admonished of their dewtie; and if, after admonition, they mend not, then farther ordour sall be taken with them at the diseretion of the session."

From the records of the Synod of Fife, I see that in the year 1647, the following overture was passed by the General Assembly:—

"For effectual training up of children at schooles,

"*First*, That ministers in their doctrine press frequently the duty of parents to traine up their children at schooles;

"*Second*, That ministers, in the course of visiting families, take up a compleit roll of children above 5 and under 10 years of age;

"*Third*, That parents frequently be exhorted, in the course of visitation, to send children to schoole upon their owne charges, iff thei be able, and whair thei are not able to entertaine them, that the session provyde; and in case of slakness, that the parents of the one and the other conditione be threatened with proecesses;

"*Fourth*, That masters of schooles be charged to give notiee to the minister or session from time to time, of the withdrawing of any children put to schoole, before thair proficieneie;

"*Fifth*, That ministers doe frequentlie visit the schooles, and take triall, if the number of ehildrene put to schooles be aeecording to the roll taken up in visiting families."

NOTE M.—Page 71.

In a previous part of this address, I have shown that the number of conscripts in the Austrian army unable to read or write is more than double those in the Prussian army. It is a proof also of the

greater intelligence of the Prussians, that their public libraries contain 11 volumes for every 100 persons in the country, whilst in Austria the number of volumes is 6·9 for every 100 persons.

The following extracts from an address recently delivered in Edinburgh by Mr. Scott Russell, C.E., give some interesting information regarding Prussian schools :—

“ In 1848, I made some official or semi-official inquiries into the state of the technical schools in Prussia ; and, to my surprise, I found that there was a better system of education carried on there than in Scotland, which I had thought was the pattern country of Europe. I found in Prussia, *first*, that every person from the age of six was at school educated by schoolmasters appointed by the State ; *second*, that the age of everybody was registered ; and *third*, that education was made compulsory. I found that there was a Government officer in every town, who looked into the register to see how old everybody was. If he found that a certain boy now six years of age is not at school, the policeman calls at the door, and inquires why Peter is not at school. He gets some answer, satisfactory or not ; but he drops the hint that Peter had better go to school. By and by he calls at the school, to see if Peter has been there ; and if he has not, the father is called before the magistrate, and asked to explain why not. If he is poor, the fees are paid for him. If he is perverse, he is fined, or put into prison. Now I do not recommend that we should copy all this ; but I do applaud the result, that in Prussia everybody receives school education. Everybody from the age of six to nine is taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. From nine to twelve, this reading, writing, and arithmetic (these not being themselves knowledge, but only means of acquiring it) is turned to account. At twelve, those who go out to the humbler fields of manual labour, are not compelled to have more education. But here comes an admirable part of the system. If, during this preliminary education, any young man has exhibited capacity or talent, showing he could be a skilled workman, artisan, or artist—that he has mathematical talent, or would become a good teacher—he is sent forward into the higher walks of education ; and thus poor meritorious pupils may be handed upwards to the very highest schools, and may be eventually promoted to the highest ranks of educated men. But at this stage begins a division of the pupils. Those who are destined for the old learned professions go to gymnasia, which correspond with our grammar schools, and from which they go to the universities. In the other divisions are those who show talent for science or art, and they are sent to preparatory schools, and finally to technical colleges and universities, so that both classes of men are sent forth into the world fully furnished. Now all this is very admirable ; and I should desire nothing better

for my countrymen than something of the same kind. With regard to these technical colleges, I visited one at Zurich, an institution having 50 professors of technology, and occupying a large suit of buildings, as large as your University and Museum put together. This college had a complete course for nearly all the professions in my list;<sup>1</sup> and in this institution the students remain three years, and not only hear lectures, but have laboratories and workshops in which they carry on their practical studies. So celebrated is this institution, that it has not only 250 native Swiss among its pupils, but as many more from all parts of Europe. Let me also tell you, that there are similar institutions in Berlin, Karlsruhe, Paris, and a great many other places. Now I should like to see you have a polytechnic college also. It need not be a separate institution, but supplemental to your University. I would have you procure the endowment of a considerable number of technical professorships, and I would have the contents of this (Industrial) Museum made available for the illustration of the lectures. You must get a greatly more liberal grant than the present one for your University. The College of Zurich enjoys a national grant of £10,000, and that in a country where a five-franc piece goes as far as £1 sterling at home. Now I would say, Tax yourselves for this great good, and let your projected Improvement Bill set apart ample ground for the enlargement of the University, by adding to the present College and Museum a technical department—the three buildings forming one great group, and cooperating in one great cause. What I want this Society to do is, to join with the University, the Town Council, and other public bodies, in enforcing on your members of Parliament, and upon all who have the power to help, the necessity of our keeping pace with other countries in the education of the new generation. Some may say, ‘Oh, a Scotchman will succeed anywhere; an Englishman has nothing to fear. We have hitherto beaten other nations, and will continue to do so.’ This is mere braggadocio. It is not the language we ought to hold. I grant the ability of Scotchmen and the energy of Englishmen. But why on that account should they have a worse

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Scott Russell, in a previous part of his address, said, “I have put down here a short list of professions, which I would add to the three learned professions already fully provided for: Civil engineer, military engineer, artillery, civil architect, naval architect, naval engineer, mechanical engineer, manufacturer, manufacturing chemist, mining engineer, metallist, agriculturist, merchant, professor, teacher. All these are professions requiring profound scientific knowledge and training; and I am not speaking incorrectly or unkindly, when I say that there is no institution in this country in which these men can find a curriculum ready prepared for them, where they can go through a regular series of instruction and examination, and have a degree or a diploma conferred on them, so that they may go out from the school to the world, ready to enter on life’s practical duties.”

education? Why, because you have clever men, should you give them fewer chances, and a worse start? If Scotchmen are clever and frugal, if Englishmen are energetic and enterprising, you ought for that very reason to give them the better education."

In confirmation and illustration of Mr. Scott Russell's allusion to the arrangements in Prussia for promoting young men of unusual talent and of slender means to higher schools, I may mention a case which I heard of when in Prussia two years ago. My informant was the wife of Dr. Schneeklager, one of the chaplains of the King of Prussia. She told me, that in the small town of Interlag there was a skinner or furrier, whose youngest son, when at the elementary school there, showed considerable intelligence. On reaching the age when it was not obligatory to keep him longer at school, the father wished him to come and help him in his trade. The son begged to be allowed to go to the higher school, or gymnasium, as the teacher and directors of the elementary school had given him a certificate to insure his promotion to it free of cost. The father resisted this proposal, but at length yielded. The lad afterwards went to Berlin to attend the training college there, his expenses being partly paid out of public funds. After being there three years, he was recommended by the head master to Count Arnim, as tutor of his children; and after being in his family five years, he (in the year 1865) was engaged by the Crown Prince of Prussia to commence the education of his son. But for the gradation of schools, and the power given to educational boards in Prussia to promote and assist meritorious pupils, the tanner's son would never have risen to the high position which he came to occupy, as a man distinguished for knowledge, and an instructor in the Crown Prince's family.

NOTE N.—Page 72.

From the Report on the Scotch Census of 1861 it appears that, whilst in Glasgow and Edinburgh 34 per cent., in Aberdeen 35 per cent., in Dundee 37 per cent., and in Paisley 42 per cent., of the families in these towns occupy each but one room,—there are no fewer than eleven counties where the percentage of families living in one room is greater than that of Glasgow and Edinburgh; ten counties where the percentage is greater than that of Aberdeen; nine counties where the percentage is greater than that of Dundee (Berwick being one of them); and two counties where the percentage is greater than that of Paisley.

The following remarks in the Scotch Registrar-General's Reports seem to me very deserving of attention:—



“As sanitary science advances, it would appear to be more and more clearly established that it is the comparative purity of the air which is breathed which is the main cause of the different rates of mortality which prevail in one place over another. Even overcrowding only acts prejudicially through vitiation of the air. Hence it is very necessary, when carrying out improvements which conduce to the comfort or convenience of the lower classes, to see that we are not introducing sources of vitiation of the air, from which their houses were free before they were interfered with.”—*Eighth Annual Report by the Registrar-General for Scotland for 1862*, page xxvii.

“In the town districts, infants under one year of age died during the year 1859, at the rate of 16·6 out of every hundred living at the same age; but in the mainland-rural districts, only 10·3 infants died in every hundred living. No fact could more strikingly illustrate the advantage which would result to the public, and to individual families, were every one who had it in his power to have his children reared in the country instead of in the town.

“Taking the active period of life (between twenty and thirty years of age), it appears that in 1859 the male inhabitants of the town were cut off at the rate of 103 in every ten thousand males; whereas in the mainland-rural districts only 86 males died out of a like population. Between thirty and forty years of age, 134 males died in the town districts in every ten thousand males; in the mainland-rural districts, only 84 males died out of a like number. This again illustrates the advantage to health and life which would result from every adult, who could afford it, living in the country, even though he carried on business in the town. The rapidity of locomotion by railways puts it in the power of many to avail themselves of this longer lease of life, which a rural residence is now clearly proved to confer.”—*Fifth Annual Report by Registrar-General for Scotland*, page xxxv.

It has been estimated by competent medical authorities that in England upwards of 200,000 adult persons die annually from diseases brought on by vitiated air, the vitiation being caused partly by proximity to middensteads, choked drains, and cesspools, but chiefly by overcrowding of families in dwellings.

In overcrowded dwellings, and in places where the atmosphere is vitiated by noxious exhalations, epidemics of all kinds abound, decimating the members of the working classes chiefly, who are so little able to take precautions. But other classes suffer also; and therefore it is important to the whole community that there should be officers of health for every district, both of town and country, to attend to these matters, and who, in respect both of salary and of selection, shall be connected with the executive government exclusively.

## NOTE O.—Page 73.

Since the address and footnote on page 73 were written, I have, through the kindness of my friend Mr. Burns of Glasgow, received a copy of the Glasgow Police Act, in which I find the following admirable provisions. They ought to be imported into a Health Bill applicable to the whole country:—

“Sec. 375. It shall not be lawful for any proprietor to let, or for any person to take in lease, or to use or suffer to be used for the purpose of sleeping in, any apartment in which there is not at least one window, or in which each window is not so constructed, or hung, as that at least one-third of it may be conveniently and easily opened, or in which the sash of such window, or the sashes of the several windows therein, are not of the dimensions hereinafter provided, viz.:

“If the said apartment contains *less* than 2500 cubic feet of space, unless the said sash or sashes give a superficial area in the proportion of 1 foot for every 100 cubic feet.

“If the said apartment contains *more* than 2500 cubic feet of space, unless the said sash or sashes give a superficial area in the proportion of 1 foot for every 150 cubic feet.

“Sec. 376. It shall not be lawful for any proprietor to let, or for any person to take in lease, or to use or suffer to be used as a dwelling-house, any building or part of a building which (exclusive of lobbies, closets, presses, and of recesses not exceeding 4 feet in depth, and not having a separate window therein, and not perfectly clear from floor to ceiling and from wall to wall, and exclusive also of any recesses in which there is any fixture whatever) is not of the following dimensions, viz.:

“If such dwelling-house consists of one apartment, and was used as a separate dwelling-house previous to the passing of this Act, unless it contains at least 700 cubic feet of space, or, if it was not so used, unless it contains at least 900 cubic feet of space.

“If such dwelling-house consists of only two apartments, and was used as a separate dwelling-house previous to the passing of this Act, unless it contains at least 1200 cubic feet of space, or, if it was not so used, unless it contains at least 1500 cubic feet of space.

“If such dwelling-house consists of only three apartments, and was used as a separate dwelling-house previous to the passing of this Act, unless it contains at least 1800 cubic feet of space, or, if it was not so used, unless it contains at least 2000 cubic feet of space.

“Sec. 379. If any dwelling-house which consists of not more than three apartments is used for the purpose of sleeping in by a greater number of persons than in the proportion of one person (of the age of eight years or upwards) for every 300 cubic feet of space, or of one person (of an age less than eight years) for every 150 cubic feet of space contained therein (exclusive of lobbies, closets, presses, and of recesses not exceeding 4 feet in depth, and not having a separate window therein, and not perfectly clear from floor to ceiling and from wall to wall, and exclusive also of recesses in which there is any fixture whatever), or by a greater number of persons than is marked thereon, by the preceding clause, every person so using or suffering it to be used, shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding 5s. for every day or part of a day during which it is so used; and any persons authorized by the board may, from time to time, enter such dwelling-houses if they believe that these provisions are being contravened.”

Mr. Burns informs me that the rules in each of these sections are strictly enforced in Glasgow. When any transgression takes place, the police, on discovering it, report to the chief constable, and the offender is prosecuted. Owners of houses have been repeatedly fined—generally only a few shillings, with expenses, for the first offence; after which the owners take care immediately to remove the tenants, in case of a second conviction and a higher fine.

NOTE P.—Page 80.

M'Culloch (*Geographical Dictionary*, edition 1866) mentions under the head of France, that “co-operative and mutual relief societies have sprung up in all directions in the ten years previous to 1864. From an official report addressed to the Emperor by the president of the Mutual Relief Societies, for the year ending December 1863, it appears that at that date there existed 4721 societies, either approved or formally authorized by Government. These comprised 676,522 members; of whom 78,544 were honorary, and 597,978 were participants. The funds amounted to 34,270,772 francs, being derived from subscriptions of honorary members, subscriptions of participant members, donations, legacies, fines, etc. The expenditure consisted in relief to the sick members, doctors' fees, medicines, funeral expenses, relief to widows and orphans, pensions in sickness or old age, expenses of management” (*Moniteur*, “Exposé de la Situation de l'Empire”).

